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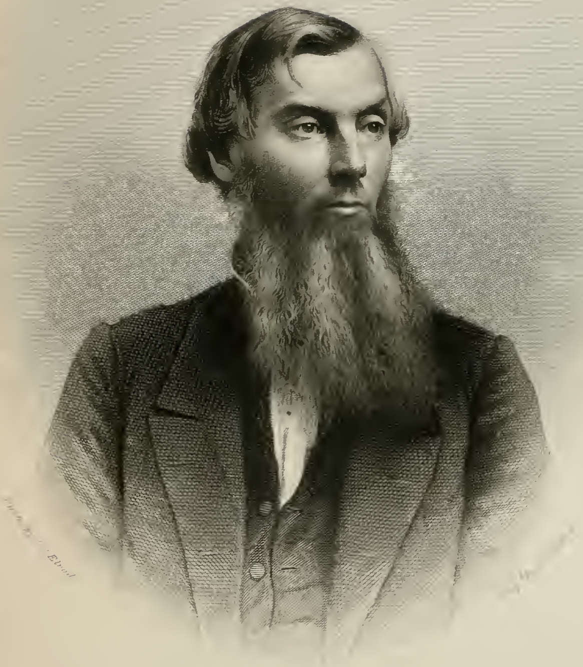

Yours Truly & Sincerely
S. B. McPheeters

MEMOIR

OF

v. SAMUEL B. McPHEETERS, D. D.

BY

REV. JOHN S. GRASTY,

Author of "Faith's Battles and Victories."

WITH AN

INTRODUCTION,

BY

REV. STUART ROBINSON, D. D.

"*My Faithful Martyr.*"—Rev. ii. 13.

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INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

BY REV. STUART ROBINSON.

On the death of Dr. McPheeters the desire seemed spontaneous and very general among those who had intimately known him, especially in the last years of his life, that some permanent memorial should be preserved of a man so noble by nature and of a Christian life and character so pure and lovely.

Such a desire might, indeed, have been the impulse of a very natural feeling, akin to that which seeks to preserve the physical lineaments of the departed loved ones by means of the artist's skill. The Christian men and women who had contemplated with holy pride so heavenly a character among them here on earth might naturally enough desire some memorial which should preserve for them the lineaments of the spirit of this man of God, with whom and under whose lead they had approached the very gate of heaven.

But still other considerations led to this desire of a Memoir of Dr. McPheeters. Earnest and intelligent Christians, who looked to the valuable results of such a life in strengthening the faith and increasing the courage of the timid and desponding, judged rightly that in a day of rebuke and spiritual declension it is important to hold up such examples of what the grace of God is still doing in the Church on earth, notwithstanding the prevalence of spiritual leanness, by way of demonstrating that the Church is not left without witness—how the Gospel, in its simplicity, is still the power of God through faith unto salvation.

And what more effective "short method" with the scoffers of our day can be put into the hands of Christian people—so often assailed with the charge of the failure of the followers of Christ to come up to the Gospel standard which they profess to accept—than the spiritual portraiture of a man concerning whom skeptics were often heard to say, that his life and character were an insurmountable difficulty in the way of accepting their own skeptical theories? The wish was, therefore, eminently reasonable that in such a memorial Dr. McPheeters, being dead, should yet speak to the railers and scoffers of this generation.

It will not be thought surprising either that the men with whom Dr. McPheeters stood during the recent ten years' conflict in the Church, to witness for what they deemed truths vital to the Church of God, and even to suffer for them as occasion called for it, should earnestly desire to perpetuate the memorial of one who witnessed so faithfully and suffered so conspicuously in earnestly contending for the "faith once delivered to the saints." Indeed, it may be suggested that, aside from considerations of reverence for his memory, it is peculiarly important to the interests of truth and righteousness that such an example should be held up before the men of feeble convictions, that they may see how important the issues involved were deemed by the wise and gentle servant of Christ—seeing that, however averse by nature to strife and controversy, he felt called upon to stake ease and comfort and personal friendship, in short, his all in this world, upon issues which these men of feeble convictions have regarded as arising out of mere personal or sectional prejudices.

It is not unfrequently the case, moreover, that a true portraiture of the witness for the truth is highly important, if not essential, to the proper defense of the truths for which he has testified. While, indeed, good men often are the advocates of dangerous error, bad men are seldom the advocates of truth. And, therefore, it has ever been the strategy of errorists and usurpers, especially when argument fails them, to attack the character of the witnesses for the truth, relying upon the experience of men to draw the conclusion that truth and right can hardly be on the side of such advocates and witnesses. Hence that tyrant of Rome, of whom Tacitus tells us, was but a somewhat exaggerated type of partisan bigotry and violence in all ages before and since. Speaking of Nero's effort to avert the popular eye from himself as the great criminal in the conflagration of Rome, the historian says: "Nero, to silence the rumor, substituted as the criminals, and executed with terribly ingenious tortures, a people odious for their outrageous practices, whom the rabble called Christians, and at their execution they were made a public sport of and wrapped in the skins of savage beasts, that, worried and torn of the dogs, they might miserably perish."

In both points of the strategy—the investing the innocent with the aspect of the guilty in the eyes of rational men, and with the covering of the savage beasts in the eyes of the irrational dogs, he seldom fails to find imitators in every excitement of partisan fury; and it is only what is due to the truth of history in calmer times that the persecutors and the persecuted be set in their real light, at least before the rational world.

But, aside from all this, it is manifestly just that the principles for which Dr. McPheeters testified should have the benefit of his lofty character as a man, and his gentle, wise and holy character as a Christian minister.

With this general conviction of the importance of such a work, the first inquiry was, "Who shall be selected, or, rather, who shall be found, to execute the task?" For it was needful to find one who should combine in himself the taste and skill, as a writer, requisite to the work; the industry to collect and the judgment to arrange and organize the materials collected from so various quarters; the opportunities to execute the work speedily enough to gratify the public desire; with the personal knowledge of and interest in the life and character of Dr. McPheeters that should make this a labor of love. Among the large circle of friends there were many who possessed some of the qualifications in an eminent degree, but few in whom they all combined. It was determined, after carefully considering the question, that his co-Presbyter and nearest ministerial neighbor, Rev. John S. Grasty, should be requested to undertake the work, and after no little doubt and hesitation he yielded to the request.

How the work has been performed must be left to the reader to judge. It is not, however, risking much to express the opinion that the author has displayed judgment and skill in his method, and in the arrangement of the copious materials which his energy and industry had gathered, while excellent good taste is exhibited throughout in the style of execution. His single aim is to present in full view Samuel B. McPheeters—the man, the Christian, the minister, the hero. His conception of his office as the biographer of a good man is just. He aims not to display himself, but his theme; to present the portraitures of Dr. McPheeters as he appeared to those who knew and loved him best, without attempting to retouch or improve them; to present the facts upon which the public may pronounce a verdict, without attempting to play the advocate in coloring, or the judge in pronouncing upon the facts. Even in detailing the story of strifes and controversies, he wisely avoids becoming himself, in spirit or word, a party to the controversies, but leaves each party in its records to tell its own story.

On the whole, there is every reason to believe that not only the friends of Dr. McPheeters, but the public at large, will judge that Mr. Grasty has in this work fairly won a title to their esteem and gratitude.

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MEMOIR OF

S. B. McPHEETERS, D. D.

CHAPTER I.

ANCESTRY.

THE late Rev. Wm. McPheeters, D. D., of Raleigh, N. C., took pains to secure an accurate register of his ancestors for several generations. This record shall be used freely, First, because of its intrinsic interest; secondly, for the reason that it will be agreeable to a wide circle of relatives and friends to possess in a permanent form a family history so complete; but, in the third place, and chiefly, because the providential dealings with this household illustrate with singular clearness that it is the way of the Almighty to "confirm to the children" those rich promises of grace which "he made aforetime unto the Fathers."

Dr. Wm. McPheeters says:

The origin of the name McPheeters, according to a family tradition, is as follows: A certain man named Peter Hume, who resided in the Highlands of Scotland, had by his first wife several children. After her death he married a second wife, by whom he had one son. If he had other children by her, nothing is now known respecting them. Peter's second marriage, it is conjectured, took place when he was somewhat advanced in years, and after the children of his first wife (or some of them at least) had arrived at maturity. This marriage, it is supposed gave dissatisfaction to the children of his first wife. In process of time Peter Hume died, and his landed estate, it seems, fell into the hands of his first wife's children. How long after his death the stepmother and her son lived with the children of the first wife, as one family, is not known. A separation, however, after some time took place. The children of the first wife, being dissatisfied with their father's second marriage, and probably regarding the stepmother and her son as beneath them in point of respectability, so conducted themselves toward their half brother as to cause him to withdraw from the family. It may be that they drove him off. What became of the mother is not known, nor is it known how old her son was at the time. After his separation from the family he continued to reside in the neighborhood; but instead of receiving and retaining the name of his father, he was called *Mac-Peters*—that is, Peter's son, the word Mac, in the Highland dialect, signifying son. After various changes in the orthography, the name at length came to be written as at present. From this son of Peter Hume has descended, according to the tradition, the McPheeters family.

My paternal great grandfather was named William. But whether he was the son or the grandson of the so-called Mac-Peters I have not been able to ascertain. My great grandfather, William McPheeters, had several brothers, of whom he was the youngest; and when about sixteen years of age, during the time of Oliver Cromwell, left Scotland and passed over into Ireland. It may be that he and some of his brothers were soldiers in Cromwell's army. My great grandfather settled in Ireland, and was there twice married. The name of his first wife is not known, and all his children by her are said to have died when young. During the lifetime of his first wife the following incident is recorded of him: One day, being absent from home, several native Irish came to the house and demanded of his wife her husband's money, which being refused, they dragged her out of the house and immersed her in a spring or pool ot water, threatening to drown her if she did not give up the money or inform them where it might be found. During this barbarous treatment she got her thigh bone dislocated. But her husband, providentially returning home at the time, fell upon the savages, killed one or two of them, put the rest to flight, and rescued his wife. After her death, which it is supposed took place some years after, he married a second time, when considerably advanced in years. He is said to have lived to a great age. His second wife's name was Janett McClellen. By her he had four children, three daughters and one son. The son was the youngest child of the family, and was named William, after his father. At the time of his father's death he is said to have been about eight years old. This William was my grandfather. He married in Ireland, and after marriage lived there about seven years previous to his emigration to America, State of Pennsylvania. His first wife was Rebecca Thompson, by whom he had ten children. My grandfather, after living several years in Pennsylvania, removed to Augusta county, Virginia. Martha, his second daughter, while living in Pennsylvania, married Samuel Donney, and afterward removed with her husband to Augusta county, Va. She was the mother of fourteen children. Rebecca Donney married a Mr. McCutchen, of Augusta county, and had a numerous family. Mary Ann married Captain Charles Campbell, of Rockbridge county. Besides other children, she was the mother of Dr. Campbell of Lexington; of John W. Campbell of Petersburg, and of William Campbell, who married my youngest sister. Betsey Donney, the sixth daughter, married Major Wilson, of Rockbridge. She was the mother of the Rev. James C. Wilson, of Waynesboro. Mary, or Molly McPheeters, the third daughter of my grandfather, married Alexander Crawford, and was the mother of eleven children, two of whom were Presbyterian ministers. The Rev. Edward Crawford resided near Abingdon, Va. The Rev. James Crawford removed to the State of Kentucky, and was pastor of the Walnut Hill Church, near Lexington. Alexander Crawford and Mary his wife, the parents of this family, were both killed in Augusta county by a party of Indians. He was shot in his own house, and the house was burnt down over him. She, in attempting to make her escape, was killed with a tomahawk a short distance from the house. They were both buried near the North Mountain, in the glebe graveyard, upper end of Augusta county, Virginia.

William McPheeters, my father, was born in Pennsylvania about the year 1729 or 1730. He married Rachel Moore, of Rockbridge county, Va. Both were members of the Church. My father was also magistrate and a Ruling Elder. The Rev. A. Scott was his pastor. The family consisted of ten children, three sons and seven daughters. My father died October 28, 1807, and was buried in the glebe graveyard before mentioned. James, his fourth child, received a liberal education; commenced the study of medicine in Staunton, afterward attended medical lectures of Dr. Rush in Philadelphia, and for a few years practiced medicine in the town of Fincastle, Va. Both he and his wife were members of the Church and esteemed exemplary Christians. Rebecca McPheeters, the fifth child of my father, married John Gamble, the brother of Col. Robert Gamble, of Richmond, Va. She was a woman of decided piety.

James Moore, my maternal grandfather, was born in Ireland, and emigrated with his brother Joseph to America, Pennsylvania, sometime about the year 1726. My grandfather, after his arrival in America, married Jane Walker. She, too, was born in Ireland. I have a distinct recollection of both my maternal grandparents, James Moore and Jane Walker. I recollect that my grandfather used to retire regularly to a room up stairs, where, after closing the door, he remained for some time. Noticing this, when a small boy, and wishing to find out what he was about, I discovered, through a small aperture under the door, that he was on his knees engaged at secret prayer. My grandmother, sometime previous to her death, remarked, "when I die I shall have a *bonny easy* death." Accordingly, during her last sickness, while some of the family were sitting in the room with her, she either turned herself over in the bed, or was aided in so doing by some one present. Thus lying still for some time, the remark was made, "into what a fine quiet sleep our grandmother has fallen." But when, after some time, her bed was approached and her situation examined into, it was found that her spirit had, quietly and without a struggle, taken its flight to the unknown world. Mary Moore, the second child of my grandfather, was twice married. Her first husband was named Paxton, by whom she had one child, named Samuel. Her second husband was Major A. Stuart, by whom she had four children. She and her husband were members of the Church. They resided near Brownsburg, Rockbridge county. Major Stuart had two sons who were Superior Court Judges, viz.: His son Archibald, by a former wife, and his son Alexander, by Mary Moore, his second wife. Elizabeth Moore, the third child of my grandfather, married Michael Coalter. They were both members of the Church. A grand-daughter of Michael and Elizabeth

Coalter married Hon. Wm. C. Preston, of South Carolina. Her sister married Judge Harper, of the same State. John Coalter, son of Michael and Elizabeth, was Judge of the Superior Court of Virginia, and afterward Judge of the High Court of Appeals. This gentleman was four times married. His third wife was Frances Tucker, daughter of St. George Tucker, Judge of High Court of Appeals, Virginia. The eighth child of Michael and Elizabeth Coalter, my beloved cousin Mary, after marriage, removed to the State of Missouri. She was the first wife of Beverly Tucker, youngest son of St. George Tucker, and half brother to John Randolph, of Roanoke.

James Moore, the sixth child of my grandfather, married Martha Poague and had nine children. He removed some time after marriage from Rockbridge county to a remote fertile valley among the mountains in the Southwestern part of Virginia. After the family had resided for some time in their frontier situation they were broken up and nearly all destroyed by a party of Indians. James Moore, the oldest child of the family, was first taken prisoner by two Indians. He had been sent to a field some distance from the house for a horse. As he went along he was seized with an unaccountable panic; the impression on his mind was that he would be torn to pieces by a wild beast. He was on the point of returning to the house, but fearing lest he should be reproached for cowardice he proceeded onward toward the field. He had not proceeded far before two Indians stepped out from behind a tree and laid hold on him. On looking up and finding himself in the hands of *human beings* and not in the paws of *savage beasts*, he, for the moment, was somewhat comforted. The Indians took him to the field and by his assistance endeavored to catch one or more of the horses; but in this they were unsuccessful. The horses would allow the boy to approach them, but when he put forth his hand to take hold of a horse one of the Indians would immediately take hold of him. By this the horse being affrighted, instantly made his escape. After repeated and unsuccessful efforts to get possession of the horses the Indians commenced their long journey, and conducted their little prisoner through a mountainous and pathless desert far North to the place of their residence. He immediately fell into the hands of a French family residing in the Indian country. In this family he lived for several years, and, if I am not mistaken, was kindly treated. About two years and a half after the capture of James Moore, the two Indians who took him prisoner formed, as it is supposed, a company and conducted them to the house of his unprotected and unsuspecting father. On a certain day, early in the morning, the Indians were seen rushing down an adjacent hill in a furious manner and approaching the house. James Moore, the father of the family, not being in the house at the moment, was shot and killed some two or three hundred yards from the house. The three following children, Rebecca, Alexander and William, were shot down near the house. The house was then plundered and burned down. John, Jane, Mary and Margaret, with their mother, were taken prisoners. A Miss Evans, who was at the time residing in the family, was also taken prisoner. John, on the first day of the march, a few miles from the house, was, on some account, killed with a tomahawk. After traveling some distance farther the Indians finding Margaret somewhat troublesome, she being only about fifteen months old, killed her by dashing her against a tree. After a tedious and tiresome march of about forty days, the Indians, with their four remaining prisoners, reached their towns, somewhere in the Northern part of Indiana or Ohio, or perhaps in Michigan, near Detroit. After their arrival Jane and her mother were given up to a disaffected

Indian and cruelly put to death. This, it is supposed, was done by the Indian in the way of revenge for some injury received by him from the white people. Joseph, one of the children of this family, was in Rockbridge, going to school, at the time when his brothers and sisters were murdered by the Indians, and, of course, did not fall into their hands. As to James Moore and his sister Mary and Miss Evans, they were providentially located, it seems, at no great distance from each other among the Indians. The brother of Miss Evans, some years after, with the view and hope of recovering his sister, went in search of her, and on finding her he succeeded, by purchase or otherwise, in obtaining not only her liberty, but also the liberty of James Moore and Mary Moore his sister. After a long and fatiguing journey Mr. Evans, with his rescued captives, arrived at my father's house sometime about the year 1790. My aged grandfather and grandmother, being at the house at the time, were overjoyed and almost overcome at the unexpected return of their long lost grandchildren. Being a small boy at the time, and at school that day, on reaching home I found the family, as I distinctly recollect, in a state of great excitement. The dead was alive—the lost was found. In process of time Mary Moore, the Indian captive, married the Rev. Samuel Brown, a distinguished Presbyterian minister, the pastor of New Providence Church, Rockbridge county. She was the mother of a numerous family; and being a woman of importunate prayer and devoted piety, it pleased God to give her five sons, who, after receiving a liberal education, became preachers of the Gospel. One of her daughters married the Rev. James Morrison, who succeeded his father-in-law as pastor of New Providence.

From a credible source I have derived the following information as to the ancestors of my *maternal* grandmother, whose maiden name was Jane Walker. John Rutherford, of Scotland, married a wife who was of the family of the Rev. Joseph Alliene, author of the "Alarm." Her maiden name is not known. Said John Rutherford had a daughter whose name was Catherine Rutherford; she married a man named Walker. His Christian name is not known. This Walker had by his wife, Catharine Rutherford, a son whose name was John Walker. John Walker was born in Wigtown, Scotland, and was the father of my grandmother, Jane Walker, and, of course, the grandfather of my mother, Rachel Moore. Thus it appears that the genealogical line traced from my mother up to John Rutherford, of Scotland, stands as follows:

1.	My Mother	Rachel Moore.
—	Her Father	James Moore.
2.	Her Mother	Jane Walker.
—	Her Grandfather	John Walker.
3.	Her Grandmother	Name not known.
—	Her Great Grandfather	———Walker.
4.	Her Great Grandmother	Catharine Rutherford.
—	Her Great Great Grandfather	John Rutherford.
5.	Her G. G. Grandmother, of the family of	Jos. Alliene.

This John Rutherford, the great great grandfather of my mother, was either the nephew or the full cousin of that distinguished divine and author, the Rev. Samuel Rutherford, of Scotland. My mother's grandfather, John Walker, of Wigtown, Scotland, had seven children. My grandmother, Jane Walker, was born in Ireland. Her father, John Walker, of Wigtown, Scotland, before marriage, settled in Ireland. He there married. From Ireland, with his whole family, including my grandmother, he emigrated to the state of Pennsylvania, where my grandfather and grandmother were married. Some years after their marriage, and after the birth of three or four of their children, they, with the whole Walker family, or the great part of them, removed to Rockbridge, Va., and settled on a creek in that part of the country called "Burden's Land," and afterward "Walker's Creek," from the several families of that name which had settled there. These families, being somewhat numerous and all closely allied, were sometimes pleasantly called "the Creek Nation."

Rachel McPheeters, my mother, was born in the year 1736, in the state of Pennsylvania, Chester county, Nottingham Township. When about three years old she removed with her father, James Moore, and his family from Pennsylvania to the state of Virginia, Rockbridge county. She and her sister Mary, who was a little older than herself, were carried on a horse in large baskets swung across the horse's back. In this situation, balancing each other and with their heads projecting from the baskets, they traveled along in comfort. My mother, when very young, was in some degree impressed on the subject of religion. One day when set to watch by herself in the cornfield, her mind was raised above the world with delightful devotional feelings. From her early youth she was strictly attentive to the duty of secret prayer, but did not recollect much as to the nature of her prayers. When she was somewhat older, say between twelve and fifteen years of age, although gay and lively in her disposition, she could not bear to listen to trifling or useless conversation, but always wished for something interesting and improving in the circle in which at any time she was placed. Having frequent occasion about this period of her life to pass to and from a neighbor's house, she was often constrained to turn aside for secret prayer, in which she usually experienced much enjoyment. And at home, during family prayer, she was frequently melted into tenderness and shed many tears. To the public means of grace she was always particularly attentive, and took so deep an interest therein that she would sometimes walk on foot four or five miles to church—New Providence. After her marriage, which took place when she was between nineteen and twenty years of age, she removed from Rockbridge to Augusta county, and there, after sometime, joined the Church, then under the pastoral care of the Rev. Charles Cummings. The place of worship was called Brown's meeting house. It is now called Hebron church. The Rev. A. Scott was the successor of Mr. Cummings. Under his pastoral care she continued a member of the Church for many years. But nothing remarkable occurred in her religious experience for eight or ten years after her marriage, with the exception of what took place when her daughter Jane was an infant. When Jane was an infant, her mother, sitting one day in the room by herself with her babe at her breast, was favored in a remarkable degree with the presence of God's Holy Spirit, filling her with joy and divine consolation. She was melted down in tenderness, and a profusion of tears flowed from her eyes. She arose from her seat and standing on the floor enjoyed a soul-refreshing and almost overwhelming view of the *glory of God*. In this situation God's question to her seemed to be this: "Could you withhold from me anything that I should ask?" "Nothing, nothing, Lord," was the reply. A further inquiry then seemed to be made: "Could you withhold from me the infant now reclining on your breast?" Her answer was again, "No, no, Lord;" and she thought that in the ecstacy of her feelings she held out the child as if to give it away to the Lord forever. My sister Jane is represented as growing up to maturity, a girl of great promise. At an early age, however, her mind became deeply impressed with the idea that her continuance in this world was to be of short duration. That such was her prevailing belief is evident from remarks which she occasionally made respecting herself. One day riding in company with a Mr. Craig, he took the opportunity of recommending to her good opinion a gentleman of his acquaintance. She remarked as follows: "You need say nothing to me respecting him or any one else. I hope before long to be happier than any one on earth can make me." "Why do you think so?" said Mr. Craig. "Oh," replied she, "the Lord has done great things for me." Not long before her death, and at the time in her usual health, she sent a message to her cousin, James Moore, to this effect: "Tell Cousin James he must come and see me *soon* or it may be that he will never see me." The week previous to her last fatal attack of sickness she visited the house of her uncle, Michael Coalter, a short distance from her father's house, where she spent three or four days. When about to return home on Saturday some one of the family inquired of her as follows: "Jane, when will you come over again?" She replied, "*Perhaps never.*" It seems that a dream which she had about this time made a deep impression on her mind, and confirmed her in the belief that she was not to live long. The substance of her dream was as follows: On marrying a man *dressed in black* she accompanied him for a considerable distance along a narrow path through a lonesome wood. She wondered whither he was about to conduct her and where she should find his house. At length she came to his house, and it was *under ground.* When taken sick she told an acquaintance that her disease would prove fatal. "From it," said she, "I shall never recover." On Sabbath public prayer was offered in the church in her behalf, by Rev. A. Scott, the pastor. After service he visited her. Her mother approached her bed and said: "Jane, are you sensible that you are going to leave us?" She replied, with much composure, "Yes, I am." "Well, what hope have you concerning yourself?" "I hope the Lord will have mercy on, me, *for Christ's sake.*" "Yes," replied her mother, "not for anything in you or done by you." "No, no, no," was her rejoinder. "But what ground have you for your hopes?" said her mother. "I know that God is merciful and gracious," said she. "But do you know this in your own experience?" inquired the mother. Jane replied, "Yes, I do, and wish to know it more and more." Her mother exhorted her to put all her trust in Christ as an *all sufficient Savior.* Finally, she lifted up her hands and said, "Lord have mercy on me." She breathed her last without a struggle or a groan.

To return to my mother. On a certain communion Sabbath, when she was about thirty years of age, her feelings and exercises were during the day unusually comfortable. Some pious friends from Walker's Creek accompanied her home that night. Their conversation till bed time was on the subject of religion. After retiring to bed, my mother had such astonishing and overwhelming views of the beauty and glory of the heavenly inheritance as to deprive her of nearly all her bodily strength. These rapturous views continued to recur, at short intervals, during the whole night, and sleep was entirely taken away from her. About daybreak her views were still more rapturous and overwhelming than ever before. After that the influences under which she had spent the night were gradually withdrawn. During the next day she experienced great composure of mind, and felt no inconvenience from the want of sleep. But why God had visited and favored her in so remarkable a manner she could not understand, nor was she inclined to build her religious hopes on the rapturous vision which she had enjoyed. After this her exercises were various. Sometimes she was happy in the enjoyment of religion, sometimes destitute of feeling, and sometimes backward to receive, as coming from God, the comforts bestowed on her. As it was customary in the country congregations where she worshiped to have two sermons in the summer months, it was her usual practice, in the interval of worship, to retire for meditation and prayer. And often on these occasions had she reason to bless God for the tokens of his gracious presence. David McPheeters, the second child of the family, died from home—a young man, in the twenty-fourth year of his age. Being a son greatly beloved, the unexpected stroke was to his mother a severe trial. And though she did not sorrow as having no hope, yet his death was to her a subject of the deepest solicitude. Some short time after his death, on a certain Sabbath, while she was reclining on her bed, it pleased God to give her *clear* and satisfactory evidence of her acceptance in the Beloved. All her doubts were removed, and with Thomas she could say, "My Lord and my God." She felt in her own delightful experience that God's favor was *life*, and his loving kindness better than life. Being thus near to God, and enjoying in so great a degree the gracious smiles of his reconciled countenance, the thought occurred to her that she might *now* inquire respecting her son, and ask of God some evidence of his happiness in the world of spirits. But *soon* did she check the presumptuous inquiry, and felt reproved for attempting to pry into the unrevealed secrets of God's righteous government. "With this great truth I must be satisfied. The Judge of all the earth will do right."

> "Then let my Sovereign, if he please,
> Lock up his marvelous decrees;
> Why should I wish Him to reveal
> What He thinks proper to conceal?"

Several years afterward, on a certain occasion, she had clear and exalted views of the excellence of the inheritance of the saints in light, but could not at the time appropriate to herself any part of that inheritance. It was to her as if she had got on Pisgah's Mount, beholding the promised land in all its beauty and excellency, witnessing the happiness of its inhabitants—their far more exceeeding and eternal weight of glory; but alas! for her, she had no part or lot among them. This, of course, produced great heaviness and depression of spirits. In her distress she determined to visit her pastor, Rev. A. Scott, living some four or five miles distant. Accordingly she set out, and on her way the following lines, found in one of President Davies' poems, came into her mind with great force:

"If I am doomed Thy frowns to feel,
Why didst thou in Thy love reveal?
Why did thy beauties charm mine eye,
If I must see and ne'er enjoy?
Or, why torment me with the views
Of bliss I must forever lose?"

These words produced a wonderful change in her feelings. She felt assured that God would never cast off those to whom he had unveiled the glories of his kingdom, and to whom he had given a relish for the enjoyments and employments of heaven. Then she was enabled to

——"read her title clear
To mansions in the skies."

When she reached the house of her pastor he was not at home. But God had met her on the way, and that was enough. "And there met him ten men that were lepers, who stood afar off; and they lifted up their voices and said: Jesus, Master, have mercy on us. And when he saw them he said unto them, Go show yourselves unto the priests. And it came to pass that *as they went they were cleansed*." She returned home greatly relieved—found that she had done wrong in not receiving and appropriating to herself the comforts which God had sent, and continued for a considerable time in the enjoyment of a good hope, through grace, that God had mercifully granted her an interest in the incorruptible inheritance of the saints in light. Some time after this, having again fallen into a state of darkness and deep distress under the hidings of God's face, she visited New Providence Church on a sacramental occasion, when the late Dr. Waddell, then a young man, was in attendance. With him she sought and obtained an interview. After he had talked with her long and to good purpose, she turned around from him on her seat and, absorbed in thought, said to herself, audibly, "Well, I am willing to do and to suffer anything, so that I may enjoy nearness to God." It was not long before she obtained the desired relief, and was enabled to rejoice in the God of her salvation. As she advanced in years she had her trials and difficulties; but it pleased God not unfrequently to grant unto her *full assurance* of her gracious state, and at times her happiness in the enjoyment of religion was as much as the *house of clay* could well endure. She died January 30, 1826, aged ninety years. Her son-in law, J. Logan, with whom she lived, informed me that her passage to the world of spirits was easy and tranquil, that she retained her senses to the last, and that after a quiet repose of nearly two days and two nights, during much of which time she appeared to be in a *profound* sleep, she left the world without a groan or a struggle. She was buried beside the grave of her husband, in the glebe graveyard, Augusta county, Virginia.

On March 12, 1842, Rev. Francis McFarland, D. D., wrote to me: "I hear from Mr. Logan that you wish from me the substance of a conversation which I had with your pious mother. As I took notes of it at the time, you may depend on its accuracy. It is as follows: She took great delight in attending at the house of God, and especially on communion Sabbaths. But as she advanced in years she was not always able to be present on those occasions. On a certain Sabbath, when we were celebrating the Lord's Supper, she being too infirm to be present (about the time, as I suppose, when we were at the table), she told me a few days after that in musing she thought herself at the Lord's table, and seated at the end of it next to me; that she plainly saw the bread and wine, and that as I handed the bread to her and pronounced the words, '*Broken for you!*' that those words came with such power to her mind as almost to overwhelm her, and that the delightful state of mind which followed continued the whole day. I remarked to her that I supposed she enjoyed the occasion as much as she sometimes did when she was actually at the table. 'O, yes, I have been twenty times at the table,' said she, 'when my enjoyment has not been so great.' I then said, 'Now, when you are deprived of the opportunity of attending on *this* ordinance, the Lord is giving you the *enjoyment* without it.' At this her heart was filled and her utterance was choked. On another occasion, July 19, 1825, she told me that recently, just before a severe turn of illness, she had had a sense of such *nearness* to God as she had scarcely ever experienced before, or as she thought was possible in the flesh. Indeed, she thought her frail body could not have borne much more. She said, moreover, that she had found it a pretty common case, shortly before a severe spell of sickness, to have such manifestations. At another time she told me, that as to the matter of dying *she had no fear about it.* And that if she should be called off suddenly, she wished me to preach her funeral sermon from Amos iv. 12: 'Prepare to meet thy God, O Israel.' And from that text I did preach her funeral. *Her piety was of the very highest order.*"

Dr. Wm. McPheeters, the father of Samuel, says of himself: "According to the best information which I have been able to obtain, I date my birth September 28, 1788. I was born in Augusta county, Virginia, near the North Mountain, about seven miles Southwest of Staunton, on the head waters of the Middle River, a branch of the Shenandoah, which river is a branch of the Potomac.

"At different country schools, in the counties of Augusta and Rockbridge, I was taught the elements of a common English education. In Staunton, the county town of Augusta, I began my classical course, and finished my education at Liberty Hall Academy, now Washington College, Lexington, Virginia. The Academy at that time was under the superintendence of the Rev. William Graham, a distinguished Presbyterian clergyman.

"In the year 1797 I traveled in company with Dr. Humphreys to the State of Kentucky, where, in the month, of October of the same year, I began to read medicine with my brother, Dr. James McPheeters, in the town of Cynthiana, Harrison county. I continued my studies with him until the summer of 1799, when I returned home in company with my brother-in-law, John Logan. Before I left Kentucky I joined the Church, under the pastoral care of Wm. Robison, near Cynthiana. In the month of September or October, 1799, I was received under the care of Lexington Presbytery as a candidate for the Gospel ministry. My theological studies were pursued under the direction chiefly of the Rev. Samuel Brown, New Providence, Rockbridge county. I was licensed at New Providence Church, April 19, 1802. The Rev. Benjamin Erwin, on behalf of the Presbytery, officiated on the occasion. In the month of October, 1802, I visited the State of Kentucky, and itinerated and preached there in various places until about the middle of March, 1803. I then passed over into the State of Ohio, preached in Chillicothe and other places, and returned again to Kentucky in the month of April, same year. About the last of June, 1803, I took charge of the Church in the town of Danville, Mercer county, Kentucky; and there also taught a small school. I boarded a mile or two from the town, at the house of Col. W. McDowell, and continued there until June, 1804. I then returned to Cynthiana, and afterward made a second visit to Chillicothe, at that time the seat of government of Ohio. I returned to Kentucky, and on the 25th of September, 1804, I married my first wife, Elizabeth McDowell, near Lexington, Kentucky. About the last of October, same year, I left Kentucky and returned with my wife to Virginia. During the winter I visited the counties of Greenbriar and Monroe, and preached in vacant congregations. On my return to Augusta I made my father's house my home until September, 1805. During six months of the time I preached to two vacant congregations west of the mountains, New Lebanon Church, Calf Pasture, Augusta county, and Windy Cove Church, Bath county. On the first of September, 1805, I returned to Kentucky with my wife, on a visit to her father. I remained in Kentucky until the second week of November, when, with my wife, I returned to Virginia and took charge of Bethel Church, December, 1805. About a month afterward I removed from my father's house to Greenville, a small village a few miles from the Church, and there, besides preaching to the congregation, I taught a classical school. On Friday, April 19, 1806, I received a *call* from Bethel Church, and the Monday following, April 21, 1806, I was ordained to the whole work of the Gospel ministry. Dr. Baxter preached the ordination sermon, and the Rev. Samuel Brown presided and gave the charge. It was, as well as I now recollect, in the month of December, 1806, that my wife, Elizabeth McDowell, after a lingering sickness, died in the town of Greenville. She was buried at Bethel Church. During the next year I removed from Greenville to my farm a short distance from the town. More than two years after the death of Elizabeth McDowell I married a second wife, Lavinia Moore, March 18, 1809. She was the daughter of Alexander and Elizabeth Moore. I married her in the State of Tennessee, Blount county, to which place her mother, then a widow, had removed from Lexington, Virginia. On the 30th of December following, my wife, Lavinia, gave birth to a daughter, and died Monday, January 15, 1810. She was buried at Bethel Church, beside the grave of my first wife. About this time I received, by a special messenger, an invitation from the Trustees of the Academy, Raleigh, North Carolina, to preside over that Institution as its principal teacher, and to preach to the town congregation, then vacant in consequence of the removal of the Rev. Wm. Turner to the town of Fayetteville. On Wednesday, February 21, 1810, I set out on a visit to Raleigh. Having reached the place, and being pleased with the prospect, I accepted the invitation which I had received. I then returned to Augusta, Virginia, and made preparations for my removal to North Carolina. Having arranged my affairs, I left Augusta and reached Raleigh, May 22, 1810, and in the month of June took charge of the Academy and congregation. On the 10th day of March, 1812, I married my third wife, Margaret Ann Curry McDaniel, of Washington, Beaufort county, North Carolina. She was the daughter of William and Parthenia McDaniel. Her father was born in Scotland, and emigrated to America when quite young. His occupation was merchandizing. My third wife was the mother of twelve children (of whom Samuel Brown was the fifth). I continued my connection with the Academy until I handed in my resignation, in the year 1826. My connection, however, with my congregation was continued for several years after. But, as I continued to reside in Raleigh, I was invited February, 1836, to resume my ministerial services in the Church. This invitation I thought it my duty to decline. The same year, 1836, I was invited to Fayetteville to take charge of a Female School in that place. I accepted the invitation, and, without removing my family, commenced operations there in the month of October; but finding that I was not likely to enjoy my health in Fayetteville, I left the place in the month of July following. In the autumn of same year I took a Missionary agency under the direction of the Board of Missions of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, and continued in that service until the spring of 1839. Some time in the year 1840 I was elected to the Presidency of Davidson College, North Carolina, but owing to ill health I was obliged to decline the invitation."

CHAPTER II.

EARLY DAYS.

Samuel Brown, so called after the Rev. Samuel Brown, of New Providence, Virginia, the fifth child of Rev. William McPheeters, D. D., and his wife, Margaret Ann Curry, was born in Raleigh, North Carolina, on September 18, 1819. He was baptized in the same city, March 5, 1820, by Rev. Shepherd K. Kollock.

It will be noted that this child is the descendant of a long line of God-fearing ancestors. While to many, who boast of royal blood and trace their lineage back to kings, this may be a matter of trifling import, yet in the eye of the Almighty it is a heritage of inestimable value. For has it not been true from the beginning that the "secret of the Lord is with the righteous, and He blesseth the habitation of the just?" The assertion, whenever made, that the children of the pious are more obdurate and incorrigible than others, is simply absurd. The thoughtful need only look at the facts. How would Zion mourn to-day did not God "bring the sons of Levi to minister at His altars?" At this hour what names in the ministry are best known to "all the congregations of Israel?" Are they not Waddell, Hoge, Alexander, Rice, Miller, Brown, Lacy, Smith, Wilson, and others, constituting a list too long to be mentioned? The pastors and preachers who bear these names to-day are the descendants of faithful men, who, in generations gone by, testified, from the sacred desk, to the glorious grace of God.

It is a fact to be deeply pondered, that the covenant of God, for the most part, abides in the *family*. And hence, in old established communities, even after a long succession of years, the same familiar names among the worshipers can easily be detected. The promise is to the faithful and his seed. Therefore, viewed in the light of eternal relations, to be the son or daughter of believing parents is a heritage more truly illustrous and noble than to be the scion of a house whose progenitor was a king. When the apostle calls to remembrance the unfeigned faith of Timothy, it is connected in his mind with "the gift of God," which dwelt first in his grandmother Lois, and afterward in Eunice, his mother.

The child grew, but during the early days of McPheeters no startling "prophecies" of future eminence can anywhere be found. And does it not, after all, excite a smile upon the face of the initiated when biographers, in solemn gravity, entertain the public with certain marvels of genius in the boyhood of great men. To awaken wonder and surprise, one incident after another is related, that a minute observer of young people is fully aware happens over and over again with "the bairns" of the commonest "cotter" in the land. The writer has lived much with children, and, speaking from careful observation, it is his decided conviction that the history of any one child of healthful, moral, physical and intellectual organization may be confidently accepted, with scarcely an exception, as representative of all others. In riper days almost every heart can exclaim,

> "There was a time when meadow, grove and stream
> The earth, and every common sight,
> To me did seem
> Appareled in celestial light—
> The glory and freshness of a dream."

There is not a parent in the world who is not belabored by the little boy or girl standing at the knee with questions far too deep for proud philosophy. And what fond mother does not pour into friendly ears accounts of astonishing discrimination in the mind of her remarkable child? And, even if in reality there are signs of precocity, this does not logically and necessarily foreshadow renown.

One boy is recalled who, if reports be true, had read at four the Holy Scriptures through; the man lives in obscurity to-day, and the world is none the wiser. Another, when thirty months old, took into his memory, never to be forgotten, a family mansion—the farm—its divisions, surroundings and peculiarities, down to the smallest minutiæ, and yet this name has never been pronounced among the great. Of the three persons who now sit in the writer's study, not one can recall the period when he or she began to read. And yet neither of the three are widely known to fame.

It is needless, therefore, to dwell upon the childhood of McPheeters. It is understood by all who knew him, that from the beginning he manifested intelligence, courage, magnanimity and honor. There never was a doubt about his tenderness or sincerity. The "brown-haired," bright-eyed boy was also a general favorite. Everybody wished him well, for his cheerful countenance and genial humor made him a welcome addition to any circle.

An incident occurred at this period which Dr. McPheeters related, not long before his death, to the writer, in illustration of the subtlety of pride. "Mrs. Devereux was a friend of my father's family. She was a lady of wealth, and noted for her good sense and Christian liberality. On one occasion Mrs. D. bought a bill of goods in the city of Raleigh, and on retiring from the store looked around in vain for a porter, all of whom were colored in those days. I stood near, and seeing her perplexity, stepped forward quickly and said : "Mrs. Devereaux, I will carry your bundles for you.' The good woman looked at me earnestly for a moment, and then replied : 'Sammy, I feel afraid for you, you are growing to be so proud. *Other* little white boys would be compromised by taking the place of a servant, but *you* can do it with safety—you are Sammy McPheeters, the son of the Rev. Dr. McPheeters, and the world will admire your condescension! Sammy, you can take the bundles, but you must keep a close watch, my boy, on your pride.' "

Dr. McPheeters tells us in his journal that he remained with his parents, in the city of Raleigh, N. C., while he was receiving the rudiments of an education, until January, 1836. He then went to the Caldwell Institute, a Presbyterial school established in Greensboro'. He remained there under the instruction of Rev. Dr. Wilson, until he joined the sophomore class at the University of North Carolina. At the latter Institution we hear of him in a letter from his old companion and friend, Samuel F. Phillips, Esq. :

"Loyalty to the cherished memory of a classmate at Chapel Hill prevailed with me to yield a ready assent to the part you assigned me of sketching the college life of him whom, under the impressions you have aroused, I will again call *Sam McPheeters*. The assent may have been two ready, as I find that the personages and incidents in that life which produced the strong impressions that remain have, for the most part, faded away, or at least into dim outlines. I shall have to submit to you an estimate rather than a sketch.

"As I call him up he comes not alone. A troop of our gay and dear comrades surround him as formerly when we met upon that happy Hill. They stand together once more in that sweet and exhilarating air, their brows bathed in the sunlight of those departed summers, piercing the heavy foliage of oak, hickory and poplar. A prospect now so distant, of course, presents their persons only in the perspective, and it is not so much the special features of any particular object that we enjoy as the blended effect and impression of the whole. McPheeters was a principal figure in college society from 1838 until 1841. He joined our class as a sophomore, and had previously been well drilled in mathematics, for which branch of study he manifested a marked partiality. He was not so proficient in the ancient languages, especially, as I recollect, in Greek. He was not a student, particularly in the latter part of the course, and even in his favorite study was irregular as to the merit of his recitations. When some passage in Analytical Geometry or the Calculus attracted him he would make a brilliant display before the class, setting off his demonstration by an artistic *figure* and a *lettering* extremely neat and tasteful. I recall nothing else special in regard to his connection with the text books. I suppose that the general judgment of his teachers, notwithstanding their *ex-officio* inclination to slight all who do not compete for honors, was, that he possessed intellectual ability and activity of a high grade, and such intelligence and force of character as, with his other qualities, plainly marked him for future eminence. It was amongst his fellows that his position was most remarkable. Nervous in temperament, brilliant, witty, tender of heart, and 'of a spirit great as Cæsar's,' he was the *knot* of the leading social circle in college, and gave a tone to the whole community, which, even when counter to the views of the authorities, was by them respected, and occasionally deferred to. Although upon excellent terms with the Faculty, he was regarded by them as the *leader of the opposition*. The traditional reputation of the 'Second passage of the south end of the West Building' suffered no disparagement whilst in the keeping of 'Sam Brown.' Indeed, it was rather exalted and somewhat glorified when to the liberty and free speech of the past was added that literary flavor and wit which, under him, distinguished the protest of the undergraduates.

"In our literary society (the Dialectic) McPheeters was a *power*. Even in that connection he was hardly a student. His essays in writing were generally brief, and so also his speeches in debate. I well recollect his declamation—always very earnest, almost rapt, his soul pouring from his eyes, and his voice stirred with emotion. Outside of the West Building, at a distance of a few yards, was a spot deeply shaded by three or four large oaks. To this place chairs and benches were carried, and upon fine afternoons crowds of youths, strangers as yet to care, assembled to enjoy the company of McPheeters. Here, upon the spur of the occasion, the oddest dramas were gotten up with rarest impersonations, and unrestrained and innocent merriment reigned supreme. Of all this he was the animating spirit, and it was all the overflow of his *natural* temperament, for he never used liquor. He was addicted too much to the pipe, but that was his only solace or stimulant.

"I will add no more. I see him now passing from the South Building to the West. He wears a summer gown, his shoes are untied, his step is rapid, his feet are turned in, and his nose in air. Some one hails Sam Brown cordially from a window, and he responds as cordially. He meets President Swain, pleasant words pass, a jest and repartee, and then a hearty laugh. Before the echo dies away they have disappeared."

McPheeters graduated at the University of his native State in June, 1841. He returned home and began the study of law with Charles Manly, Esq., which he prosecuted for more than a year. Early in January, 1842, an interesting state of things began to prevail in the Presbyterian Church in Raleigh, and many were united to it. The journal says: "Among those who at that time obtained a hope were my two sisters, Susan and Catherine, and myself, on Sunday night, January 30; and on the 6th day of March, 1842, some twenty of us united with the Church, under the pastoral charge of the Rev. Drury Lacy."

Dr. S. J. P. Anderson, of St. Louis, furnishes interesting particulars in regard to his conversion:

"My long and intimate acquaintance with Dr. McPheeters enabled me to get a view of his inner life permitted to few. In frequent conversations I gathered the facts which I desire now to record touching his great change:

"Although brought up piously by parents noted for the faithfulness and consistency of their Christian deportment, he grew up to early manhood without making a profession of religion, and rather remarkably free from those serious impressions which arise almost irresistibly in a godly house. His buoyant hilarity of disposition and his inexhaustible fund of anecdote, coupled with a really genial nature, made him a most fascinating companion—the joy and pride of every social circle. And no doubt his acceptableness as a companion helped to render him insensible to those serious thoughts which spontaneously suggest themselves to every well instructed youth.

"At all events, his college career was passed before he found Jesus, or rather was found of Him. He was never addicted to vice. Indeed, he was intrinsically too much of a gentleman to fall into those gross indulgences which have so great an attraction for young men gathered together in College. But in all innocent mischief and frolic he was a leader. At the same time, however, he was keenly alive to the dangers of the popularity which he enjoyed. At one time he discovered that at social parties he was solicited to drink wine for the very purpose of inducing him to talk freely and pour out his stories of wit and repartee for the gratification of his associates. The discovery at once put him on his guard, and he became carefully abstemious. The impression thus made was deepened and confirmed by an incident which occurred at an evening party of young men assembled in one of the rooms of the College. They had indulged freely (but not to intoxication), and late at night he retired to rest and soon fell into a profound sleep. From this he awoke with a burning thirst, and groped his way in the dark to the water pitcher, which was covered over with ice. Dashing his hand through the frozen covering he lifted the pitcher to his lips, and drank, what he thought, the sweetest draught his lips had ever tasted. He determined to impart his discovery to his boon companions. He, therefore, immediately awakened them from their slumbers and urged them to drink from his pitcher, saying, 'It is the best drink I ever tasted, and the only one I will hereafter take.' And the vow, made under these singular circumstances, he faithfully kept. From that time wine and spirits were used by him only as a medicine. This anecdote, rightly apprehended, will throw a strong light on the character he had formed in early youth—exquisitely sensitive to the pleasures of social indulgence and yet heroically able to restrain the gratification of his appetites. This was a good index of his after life.

"He left the College after graduation, and returning home to Raleigh entered at once on the study of the law, having through all his course maintained the appearance of a light-hearted, jovial and remarkably social young man; and yet he had not been without occasional visitations of remorseful seasons, although these periods of sober reflection were carefully concealed from his companions. Sometimes, after an hour of immense hilarity in conversation, he would retire into a forest near the University buildings and fall upon his knees and in an agony of compunction implore God to pardon his foolish forgetfulness of his high and sacred duties to Him. But these visitations were short as well as few and far between, and he returned to his worldly career with a new zest.

"Soon after commencing the study of law there was held in Raleigh a protracted meeting, during which considerable interest in sacred things was manifested. McPheeters, however, was unimpressed, and also avoided the meetings. Sitting one day in his office, reading Blackstone, he saw his pastor, Rev. Drury Lacy, D. D., approaching. At once divining the object of his visit, he put a mark in the volume, and with a feeling of irritation and resentment prepared for the interview. There was another clergyman assisting in the meeting whom he did not particularly like, and, as his visitor approached, he heartily wished that it had been the 'other one,' whom he would have soon sent about his business with very little apparent fruits from what McPheeters then considered a rather impertinent and certainly very annoying intrusion on his studies. But he could not wound his gentle, loving and noble hearted pastor, and so he braced himself to sustain the shock as best he might. Dr. Lacy talked to him, as he knew so well how to talk, about the concerns of his soul, but no impression was made. The young student listened attentively and respectfully, but coldly, to these admonitions and exhortations. Seeing he was accomplishing little, the pastor wisely closed the interview by making the request that his young friend would devote one-half hour to serious thought and self-examination on the great theme that he had been pressing on his attention. The request seemed a reasonable one, and he readily made the promise required. With his punctillious sense of honor he kept his engagement, and devoted the half hour to the solemn question of his duty to God and himself. It was the turning point of his life—the crisis of his immortality. Blackstone was never reopened by him again. So far as he was concerned, that book mark is there still. His reflections aroused him to an awful sense of his sin and danger, and with all his soul he began to seek the Savior whom he had so long neglected; but, although so well instructed from the fireside, the Sunday School and the pulpit, his soul was in utter darkness. The Bible had no light, and prayer brought no relief. He would repeat to himself the questions and answers of the Catechism, which had always seemed to him so clear in their delineations of the way of life, but they did not convey an idea to his tortured mind or a hope to his despairing soul.

"He had a very dear friend (thought still to be irreligious) who after graduation had remained as tutor in the University. He determined to visit him and see if his genial talk, which had so often beguiled him to cheerfulness, would not again avail to restore his former equanimity, and thus give him back that false peace which he had once enjoyed. He at once set out for Chapel Hill and found his friend; but, to his dismay, Charles Phillips, the associate of his college days, had gone before him to the cross of Christ and there had found Him who gives peace. But his friend could not tell him comfortingly and effectually what he should do to be saved. His soul was as dark and despairing as before. He returned home thus thrown back upon himself; and then, as he wandered lost in thought amid mazes of doubt, Christ met him, revealed the way of life to the 'heavy laden,' and filled his soul with the peace that passeth understanding. And then he found, to use his own words, 'the plan of salvation was so simple that he had nearly passed through it before he knew that he had entered the gate.'

"From that time onward the religious life of McPheeters was remarkably consistent, and his path, like that of the dawn, shone more and more till the perfect day.

"Toward the end of August, 1843, the young law student left Raleigh for Princeton, New Jersey, with a view of joining the Theological Seminary in that place. 'A man's heart deviseth the way, but the Lord directeth his steps.'"

CHAPTER III.

SEMINARY LIFE.

McPheeters has now entered fairly upon the study of theology. Nor is there any lack of information in regard to his habits and character at this particular period. For, beside the vivid recollection of friends, there exists a register of events and personal experiences carefully recorded by himself. In addition, therefore, to the testimony of others, it will be a matter of interest to introduce, here and there, a few extracts from the journal.

"PRINCETON, Oct. 24, 1845.—To-day I purchased a blank book, in which I intend to keep a short diary of passing events; and as I find many circumstances escape my mind, which, although not of much interest in themselves, yet are such as I do not wish entirely to escape me. Besides, it is well to keep some note of time, and daily to settle one's accounts of loss and profit, so that to-morrow may not have to discharge the debts of today."

"1845.—NOV. 29, SATURDAY.—Attended no recitation this day, as we had no question to read in theology. Indeed, I did very little to-day in the way of study, for which I have some stings of conscience. I hope I may be forgiven."

"DECEMBER 21, WEDNESDAY.—Attended a called meeting of the committee on sailors, soldiers and Africans. Resolved to try and do better in the ensuing year than I have done. Resolved to be more diligent in reading of the Sacred Scriptures. Resolved to try and live better in every respect."

"1846.—JANUARY 2 AND 3 (FRIDAY AND SATURDAY).—

Went over and had a conversation with Dr. Alexander on the subject of preaching to the negroes. He is anxious I should go to Petersburg for that purpose, and I am disposed to give the matter a very serious consideration."

"Returned home to Raleigh, North Carolina, May 29. Sabbath, June 7, made some remarks at the monthly concert. To-night, preached my first sermon (if one who is not licensed can be said to preach) to the people of color in the session room of our church. Subject: The Christian a pilgrim.—Heb. xi. 13. Notice was only given to-day, but we had a crowded house of very attentive listeners. As we have very few colored people connected with our Church, I suppose it was principally curiosity that brought them. Oh! for more of the Spirit of Christ to love to preach the gospel to the poor."

"SABBATH, JUNE 21.—Held religious services in the session room this evening for the colored people—room crowded, and the assembly solemn and attentive. I tried to press upon them the duty of building upon Christ as the only foundation, from parable of the two builders, in Matt. vii. 24–27—much assisted in preparing, but not so in the delivery."

"JUNE 29.—Held religious services again this evening for the colored people in the session room, and had a house full. Spoke from John xii. 21—'Sir, we would see Jesus.' The audience seemed to listen."

"JULY 12, SABBATH.—Last Sabbath was the monthly concert of prayer, Dr. Wilson and Mr. Gilchrist present, and a pretty full meeting. This evening I again held religious services for the colored people. Spoke from Luke xix. 41–42—Christ weeping over Jerusalem. Audience not as large as the night before—exceedingly hot. I did not talk with much satisfaction to myself. The oil was not beaten enough for a bright light. Mr. Lacy present."

"JULY 15, WEDNESDAY.—This being the day appointed for an adjourned meeting of the Presbytery of Orange to meet in Hillsboro to examine me for license, Mr. Lacy and myself left for that place on the morning of this day in a carriage which Mrs. Devereux kindly loaned us. We arrived in Hillsboro about seven o'clock P. M., and drove up to the house of Dr. Wilson. The Presbytery met at the session rooms. Present—Dr. Wilson, Messrs. Burwell, Lynch, Lacy and Hughes, ministers; C. Phillips and Dr. Long, elders. The Presbytery soon adjourned to meet at Dr. Wilson's house, at which place an examination took place on the Latin, Greek and Hebrew languages. Spent the night at Mr. Ash's. Next day (Thursday) examined in the morning on Natural Theology, &c., until ten o'clock. Presbytery then gave me a recess until eleven to prepare my sermon. At eleven I preached in the church. Text: Rev. xxii. 17, last clause. After dinner my examination was resumed in Mr. Burwell's study, and concluded in the afternoon. Mr. Lacy preached at night. After preaching, Mr. Hughes, the Moderator of the Presbytery, proposed to me the constitutional questions, and licensed me to preach the everlasting gospel."

"FRIDAY, JULY 17.—I went to Chapel Hill before breakfast with Ch. Phillips; remained there the rest of the day; visited Dr. Mitchell."

"SABBATH, JULY 26.—Preached for the first time, this afternoon, in the Presbyterian Church, of this place (Raleigh). The congregation rather smaller than usual, owing to a camp-meeting in the vicinity. Text: Rev. xxii.—last clause of 17th verse. I had a cold, and for various reasons seemed to deliver my message with very little power."

"SABBATH, AUGUST 2.—This evening made a short missionary address, in which I tried to show why it is we take so little interest in the affairs of missions: proved it to be a want of interest in religion itself."

Dr. C. Phillips, of Davidson College, North Carolina, says:

"The years 1843–4, which we spent together at Princeton, furnished me with more opportunities for associating with McPheeters than I had before or have had since. I knew him only by reputation until he joined the sophomore class at our University, in July, 1838. While at College his associations and mine did not bring us together as intimates. His forte was mathematics. Yet his attention to that was desultory. His companions were too idle to let him study much. I have known him to weep while at Princeton over the folly that marked his college life. He thought while at Chapel Hill that he was to be a lawyer, and that the languages would be of but little use to him. So he neglected what would have been to him in after life of inestimable service. He did not sow beside all waters, not knowing which would prosper. He was a very influential member of our class and of our society—the Dialectic. He was ready in debate, fluent, abundant in illustrations, and fond of humorous sallies. So he was, at all times, excellent company. No man in our class was more generally respected or more particularly beloved by his associates.

"Ours were turbulent times at the University. The students were frequently riotous, and there were grievous dissensions and lamentable schisms in the two societies. Sam McPheeters was not thought to be on the side of law and order by the Faculty or by the soberer students. He was not dissipated or riotous himself, but his companions were. But when we (perhaps among the most unlikely members of our class) were afterward together preparing to preach the gospel of truth and soberness—all this was changed. Sam was still fond of an argument, and would often convulse us with an illustration or a simile.

But there was no trace of his former (to some factious) disposition. His was then a lovely specimen of a heart subdued by grace. We helped each other. I him, by my book knowledge; he me, by his ingenuity and originality. Oh! how he mourned over misspent hours at school and at college. But by his dogged resolution he did much to retrieve his losses.

"I learned to love him very much for his amiability, and to admire him for the spiritedness of his efforts. I have never known but one Sam McPheeters. His piety was deep, solemn and sincere, and full of cheerfulness. His natural bent of mind was toward funny views of things around him.

"When Professor Addison Alexander was drilling us into the pronuciation of Hebrew, Sam, whose tongue was stiff and lips thick, was almost in despair. '*He knew the things by sight, but he could not call their names.*' Professor Alexander used to read the Hebrew for us, at first slowly, then more rapidly, then he would go on cracking away a mile a minute. 'How do you get on McPheeters?' '*Phillips, when he calls out verse seven I break for verse eight, and set for him!*'. This securing Hebrew sounds, as hunters do deer, was too much for my gravity, and secured for me a reproving look from the then awful professor. After I left Princeton we corresponded frequently and regularly till he went to St. Louis. He got remiss in writing, and so, with mutual regrets, and without design, we ceased to communicate directly with each other. I was always sure that he would do a good work in our Master's vineyard, and I thank God that he enabled my old friend to do it. The account of his death was read by our Prof. Anderson here to our students, at our weekly prayer meeting, with marked effect. I thank God that I knew Sam. McPheeters, and pray that more of his spirit may rest on us."

Dr. A. A. Hodge, of Alleghany City, writes:

"I am rejoiced to hear that you propose to prepare a memoir of that peerless man and Christian minister and friend, Samuel B. McPheeters. I would be, indeed, more than glad, if it were in my power, to contribute to the undertaking any material aid. But, although I have never ceased to thank God for the privilege of having known and loved him, our personal contact continued only three years in Princeton Seminary, and in the quarter of a century which has elapsed since then I have seen him but one single hour, during the sessions of the General Assembly, in Philadelphia, in 1853. Because of my dilatoriness, also, we seldom corresponded, so that I possess no illustrative facts or incidents to relate, only an imperishable remembrance of one of the most graceful human beings, in both the natural and the supernatural senses of the word, that I have ever known. He was older than some of us. His earlier years he had confessedly not improved as a scholar, and he had not yet acquired a smooth and equable use of all his powers in the study of books and in the fixed routine of class exercises; and yet he stood eminent among his classmates for a singularly conscientious, diligent and successful discharge of all the duties and improvement of all the advantages of his seminary course.

"Beyond any other man that I ever knew, in any seminary, McPheeters had the singular faculty of attaching the respect and affection of all his fellow students of every grade of culture, variety of character, and of every section of the land. He stood, *facile princeps*, as the best beloved of all his cotemporaries. In an inner circle of personal friends, to which it was my happiness to be attached, adorned by such men as Charles Phillips, Wm. M. Scott and B. T. Lacy, he was also the attractive center and common bond. How beautiful to all of us who survive does he appear in the back-look, in his unfaded, early manhood, in the matchless sweetness of his disposition, the many sidedness and attractiveness of his magnetic nature, and in the delightful eloquence of his discourse. His moral nature was as exquisitely pure and ethical as a woman's, while he was at the same time eminently manly in the breadth of his understanding and the force of his character. The recollection of him brightens all the associations of our youth, and now that he has gone before us, the thought of him adds new attractions to our heavenly home. He is, doubtless, greatly changed and improved; nevertheless, all the personal and peculiar characteristics of McPheeters need less modification to render them congruous with the associations of Heaven than those of any other of our friends. His memory is very precious to us now, and the anticipation of reunion with him cheers the onward way."

The Rev. B. T. Lacy, D.D., an associate at Princeton and a friend in after days, records the following impressions:

"In the autumn of 1843, and at the opening of the session of Princeton Theological Seminary, the writer first met with Samuel B. McPheeters. He had preceded him about ten days. The day after my arrival he called and delivered a letter of introduction from an uncle—Rev. Drury Lacy, D.D., of Raleigh, N. C., his beloved pastor and his warmly attached friend. The impression made in the first interview is well remembered; his kind and cordial manner and his courteous and gentlemanly bearing at once commanded respect and won regard. The foundation was then laid for that firm and lasting friendship and for that sincere and tender affection which was cherished for him when living, and with which his memory is regarded when dead. The writer instantly recognized a congenial spirit; he felt sure that he had met with one among the strangers in whom he could confide and with whom he could sympathize. These first impressions were more than realized; our intercourse became almost immediately intimate and confidential. During the stay of three years at Princeton, an intimacy was formed with many classmates and fellow-students, and a warm attachment existed for them, but the first place in affection was assigned to him, and that position he maintained to the day of his death. After a few months, arrangements were made so to occupy our apartments that one should be used as a sitting-room and study, the other as bedroom. While this arrangement added greatly to social enjoyment, it interfered somewhat with the privacy essential to the most successful application to study. But on the review it is not to be regretted, for it is felt that a full compensation for every disadvantage was offered in the association with a companion of his spirit. The intercourse was without reserve and without concealment; the heart of each opened to the other with the fulness and freedom which constituted the perfection of a most delightful and confidential Christian fellowship. The knowledge gained of his character was necessarily full and accurate, and the better he was known the more he was loved. His disposition was so affectionate and sympathetic that it was essential for him to have some one with whom he could communicate and in whom he could confide. With all his manliness of character and inflexible integrity of nature there was a womanly gentleness which made him dependent upon his friends. Firm and strong as the unyielding oak in the midst of danger and in the defense of truth, yet in the time of repose and in the hours of quiet his heart threw out its tendrils like the clasping vine and sought support. Shortly after this acquaintance began he related two characteristic incidents which occurred during the first week after his arrival in Princeton. The reserve of the students in their intercourse while they were yet strangers, and the necessarily formal and brief interviews which professors could afford to give at the time he called upon them and presented letters of introduction, produced a depressing effect upon his sensitive and sympathetic nature. He felt lonely and sad, far from home and in a cold and ungenial clime. In this mood he left his room, pitcher in hand, for the pump in the seminary yard, where he found an old negro woman, in the employ of the steward, who promptly and politely offered to fill his pitcher for him. When she took it into her hands she remarked, 'This pitcher needs a good washing with hot water,' and stepped into the kitchen for the purpose. Returning in a moment she drew the water and handed the thoroughly cleansed vessel into his hands. This slight circumstance, occurring just at that time, so touched his heart that, choked with sudden emotion, and with tears starting to his eyes, he was scarcely able to express his thanks for her kindness. On entering his room he deposited the (to him) precious pitcher of water and hastened to the nearest dry goods store, which was a half mile off, where he purchased the material for a suitable dress, and carrying it immediately around to the kitchen door, called for the old woman. He greatly astonished her by saying, 'here is a present for you; you have done the first kind act for me that I have received since I came to this place.' Said she, 'that was nothing; just to fill your pitcher with water for you!' He replied, 'it was a great deal to me; you did more than you knew of, aunt—it was water to a thirsty soul, and you must take that dress and wear it, for you know our Savior said the cup of cold water shall not be without its reward.' Incidents such as this reveal the true character. Like windows in the breast, they enable you to look in and see the workings of a pure and generous heart, and often disclose more than a volume of mere statistical biography.

"Among his letters of introduction from Dr. Lacy there was one to the Rev. Benjamin H. Rice, D. D.—*clarum et venerabile nomen*—who was at that time the pastor of the Princeton Church. Some delay occurred before the letter was delivered. When he called and presented it, Dr. Rice received him in the most cordial and affectionate manner, as a father might a son. Said he, 'I knew your father and your mother long before you were born.' And still holding his hand in both his, he said: 'Come, sit down, Sam, and tell me about your mother.' This simple and familiar mode of address went right to his heart and unsealed its fountains. When referring to the occasion, he said that his emotions almost prevented him from sustaining the conversation or answering the numerous questions which were kindly put to him. That interview formed the happy introduction to the most intimate and delightful intercourse with the warm-hearted and highly cultivated family of Dr. Rice, where he was a regular and welcome visitor as often as every week of his stay at Princeton.

"His social disposition and kind and easy address soon made him acquainted with his fellow students, and enabled him readily to secure their esteem and affection. No man in the Seminary added so much to the social enjoyment of the fraternity. He was so true a gentleman, possessed of such cordial and winning manners, with such a constant flow of kind and genial humor, and, at the same time, with such simple and unaffected piety, that it is not surprising he was a general favorite. He was the most universally beloved and the most popular man in the Seminary. In the beginning of his course he was embarrassed by serious difficulties. He had not been for a great while a member of the Church, and much of his time, when at college, had been spent in a careless and idle, though not in a positively dissipated manner. Hence his preparation for the Seminary classes was deficient. This he never ceased to regret and to mourn over with the deepest contrition. His deficiencies, however, which were not greater than those of the average of his classmates, he was disposed in his humility greatly to exaggerate. Not unfrequently he became disturbed in regard to the genuineness of his call to the ministry, and in the most painful, thorough and prayerful manner would re-examine the whole subject, and decide the important question anew. His conscience was so sensitive, his humility so profound, and his fear of presumption so great that he was often in deep distress. At times he almost came to the conclusion that it was his duty to leave the Seminary. On such occasions his friends became greatly concerned, for, beside their clear conviction that he was mistaken as to his duty, they could not consent to give him up. After the whole subject was discussed in the most serious and candid manner, his conclusion would always be the same in the end. 'Well,' he would say, 'I will remain and study through the course; I may be able to preach to the colored people, and do some good among them.' And to them he did give the first fruits of his ministeral life, and for the spiritual interest of that class of the population he ever felt the deepest concern. He suffered much from too great sensitiveness, which was constitutional, and at times almost morbid in its character. The speaking and preaching exercises, which were conducted in the presence of a professor and the body of the students, gave him serious trouble. As the students were expected to offer criticisms, he complained that he had no audience to speak to, and could not address a company of men who felt no sympathy with him or his subject, and who were watching with critical eyes all his defects. During the first two years he was seldom able entirely to complete the delivery of his address. At such times he seemed to suffer as from a 'wounded spirit,' and could scarcely bear it. In his first attempts to address audiences in the surrounding neighborhoods, though usually very happy and impressive on such occasions, he sometimes lost his self-possession and was sorely mortified. I recall an instance in which he had made elaborate preparation, and took with him a carefully prepared syllabus or skeleton of his discourse, to which he frequently referred during his long and solitary walk to the Rocky Hill neighborhood. Unconsciously he had perfectly transferred to his memory all the divisions and subdivisions of his subject just as he had them written down. When he rose to speak, suddenly losing his self-command, he proceeded with a rapid utterance to speak off the syllabus, verbatim, which consumed about three minutes of time, and then took his seat in complete discomfiture. This occurred at an evening service and about three miles from Princeton. He had expected to remain for the night at the house of a friend. Imagine the surprise when, pale and exhausted, his feet covered with snow, he burst into the room at a late hour. His countenance indicated the deepest distress, and in answer to inquiries, he only persistently and sadly declared he would leave the Seminary on the next morning. And, indeed, his mind was so far determined upon it that he prepared a note of explanation for Dr. Alexander, which he requested to be delivered after his departure. Argument and expostulation were used with him for hours that night to no effect, until, with a little impatience, he was told that he ought to go—that a man who had no more faith and resolution than to give up the cherished purpose of his life and his settled convictions of duty for one failure, and that of the most natural kind, and not likely in that form to occur again, was not worthy to enter the ministry, for he was not prepared to make any sacrifices for his Savior. The offer was then made to assist him in packing his trunk. He said: 'No; I am willing to make any sacrifice for my Savior, and I will continue to try to preach, if it kills me.' He was one of the most genuinely sincere and unaffectedly humble men ever known. His humility sometimes led him to a self-depreciation which was injurious while it was unjust. His success in his studies before he completed his course, especially in the department of didactic theology, in which he excelled, served to encourage him, and when he entered upon the active duties of the ministry the high appreciation of his services by others gave him a fairer estimate of himself and inspired him with greater confidence. He related an amusing illustration of his surprise at the value set upon his preaching shortly after he entered upon his labors among the colored people in Virginia. The Rev. Jesse S. Armistead, D.D., came from his charge in Cumberland county to preach at a sacramental occasion, in a church in Amelia county, and not far from the field of McPheeters' labors. There being some interruption in his appointments on that Sabbath, he went over on Saturday morning to attend the meeting and hear Dr. Armistead, who had a well-deserved reputation as a most impressive and able preacher. Dr. Armistead insisted upon his preaching, to which McPheeters most strenuously objected, declaring that he could not preach—that he was the preacher to the black people, and that he had been put to preach to them because he was not fit to preach to the whites. But Dr. A. would not regard his excuses, said he must preach once, and forced him to occupy the pulpit that morning. In his account of it, he said that he had a carefully prepared sermon in which his own heart had been deeply interested, and which had produced a strong impression upon his colored audience the Sabbath before. He preached it with great earnestness and tenderness; a decided impression was made upon his hearers, and the sympathetic nature of old Dr. Jesse S. Armistead was moved to tears. At the close of the service he arose and said, 'The dear brother who had preached the precious gospel with so much power and sweetness to them that morning would preach again that night, and also on Sabbath morning and Sabbath night.' When he sat down, McPheeters, perfectly aghast, seized his arm, exclaiming, 'What have you done that for?' Said Dr. A., in his characteristically rough and jocose manner, 'What did you tell me that lie for, and say you couldn't preach?' It was with great difficulty that he could get off from a portion of the work thus unceremoniously cut out for him, having to consent to preach the sermons at night.

"His application to study throughout his seminary course was faithful and diligent. He was naturally social and impulsive, and rather restive under the restraints of uniform and positive rules; but in the exercise of a strong determination, and especially under the control of the most scrupulous conscience, he forced himself to a life of the most consistent adherence to duty. He was punctual in his attendance upon all the public exercises of the Seminary, as he was faithful in private studies and in his secret devotions. The result of this fidelity and discipline was a decided improvement in his intellectual and in his religious character. There was a constant and vigorous growth which marked the progress of his development. He highly appreciated the value of his instructions, and successfully improved them. The professors in the seminary inspired him with the greatest confidence, and when other sources of evidence were wanting he was willing to rely upon their authority. He often rebuked, and sometimes most happily ridiculed, a tendency quite common among young men of questioning everything and demanding upon all subjects a logical demonstration. His mind was peculiarly *in-*

tuitive in its character. He seized quickly upon what was essential in the subject, and a simple and clear *statement* was to him more satisfactory than the strongest and most scientific logical argument. Indeed, he did not sufficiently value the science of logic, and used to maintain that an adroit dialectician could confuse the mind and disturb the convictions of any ordinary capacity. He had some very ingenious syllogisms and logical puzzles, which he adduced in an amusing way to sustain his positions.

"On all *moral* subjects his intuitive perception of truth was very remarkable. In the study of the most difficult problems of theology, particularly those possessing a psychological aspect, a few of the class, especially Wm. M. Scott and A. A. Hodge, both of whom became professors in Theological Seminaries, would meet for the comparison of views and for the discussion and solution of difficulties. When conclusions were reached and subjected to the severest logical analysis, the writer was accustomed to say, 'I will ask McPheeters' opinion as to the truth of that position,' and when his knowlege of such subjects was questioned, it was replied that he only knew one thing about them—he knew whether they were true or false. He was never known to fail. Next to Dr. Hodge's invincible logic and profound theological knowledge, I placed McPheeters' intuitive perception of moral truth. He had no difficulty in accepting the doctrines of the Old School Calvinistic theology. He said that he *felt* that they were true, and the plausible objections and specious modifications of modern rationalism gave him no trouble. He was disturbed by no harassing doubts as to God's revealed truth; his faith was simple and child-like in its character. 'Thus saith the Lord' was ever sufficient for him.

"His most distinguishing traits were his *moral intuition*, his *conscientiousness* and his *social disposition*. These elements were each developed in the highest degree, and were, at the same time, so perfectly and harmoniously blended that they constituted a character of the rarest excellence. To his associates his social nature was, of course, most obvious and most characteristic. With a quick and instinctive discrimination of the characters and tastes of others, he possessed the disposition readily to sympathize and an unusual capacity for adaptation. Hence he was seldom, if ever, at a loss for topics of conversation peculiarly suited and entirely agreeable to his company. He put himself to some extent in the place of others, and interpreted their own feelings for them. He seemed not to think of himself; and as he exhibited a generous and unselfish concern for their feelings and interests, there were excited emotions of gratitude which readily changed into those of sincere regard. There was an entire absence of all calculation. No suspicion of intentional or selfish design could, for a moment, be entertained. He was always trusted—never suspected, and, where the intercourse continued, invariably beloved. The first impressions which he made were very favorable. In many instances he was beloved from the first interview. His sympathies had the widest possible range, and his capacity of adaptation was of equal extent. He has been seen with the shy and timid child, winning it, as by the power of a charm, from the mother's arms to his own. It is needless to add that in every such instance the mother's heart followed the impulses of her child. He possessed the same attractive influence over the rudest, roughest and most uncultivated men and boys. He recognized whatever latent susceptibility there was in them for the kind, the good or the humorous, and, touching it as with a magic influence, he drew them into communion with himself. When in contact with natures of the highest order, and minds of the widest and severest culture, his sympathies brought him into immediate and intimate companionship with them, and seemed to inspire him with a knowledge almost equal to their own. When in conversation with such men as Dr. Hodge on profound theological subjects, Dr. Dodd on metaphysical speculations and art criticism, or Dr. Henry on physical science, he appeared to be wonderfully at home and familiar even when he acknowledged his almost entire previous ignorance of the subjects. His sympathy constituted a ladder, which he could let down to those below him, and by which he could as easily ascend to those above him. This peculiarity did not escape his own notice, and seemed to surprise and perplex him. He often maintained, in a half serious, half playful manner, that he had no independent, personal and individual character or intellect of his own, but that he partially lost his identity and passed into the condition of those with whom he was in communication.

"On one occasion, when he was congratulated on the successful part he had taken in a conversation, when subjects of an erudite and difficult nature, and entirely out of the ordinary line of his thoughts and studies were discussed, he said: 'I don't know anything about them, and did not then; but Dodd and Lord were so smart that they mesmerized me. If you had seen me with an idiot, I would have been one, too. I have always been afraid of idiots, for if I were thrown with them I am sure I would soon fall into their condition.' With interest and even wonder it has been observed, on a short visit in a family, how he would captivate the servants, the little children, the young men, the young ladies and the parents, all alike and equally. Even where the diversities of intelligence and disposition formed the most striking contrasts, he seemed as well suited to one as to the other, and that, too, not as he intimated, by a sacrifice of his own individuality. That was, both as to his opinions and manners, distinctly and decidedly preserved. No man ever imitated others less, and no man ever compromised himself less. No matter how complete the adaptation of himself to others, or how close the sympathy with their emotions or intellects, there was always left the distinct and personal substratum of a manly, graceful, generous, tender, beautiful character, which was McPheeters', and which all recognized and loved.

"In Princeton the large number of young men in attendance in the College and Seminary, and the limited number of families constituting the society of the town, prevented much social attention being extended to the majority of the students. Many of them leave as much of strangers to the citizens as when they came. This was not the case with him. His introductions into Princeton society were favorable, and in every instance he interested and attracted those with whom he became acquainted. At Dr. Alexander's, Dr. Dodd's, Dr. Henry's, Dr. James W. Alexander's, Dr. Miller's, and especially at Dr. Hodge's and Dr. Rice's he was a most welcome visitor. From the writer's relationship with some of those families, and acquaintance with the others, the opportunity was afforded him of knowing how much he was esteemed and how highly his society was appreciated. The pressure of the week's studies was somewhat over by Friday night, and the evening was almost invariably spent at the parsonage, where the noble-natured and warm-hearted old Doctor presided in his ample armchair; and where his eldest daughter contributed her extraordinary and fascinating powers of conversation to the entertainment of the evening; his eldest son, Rev. John H. Rice, D. D., of Franklin, Tenn., drew liberally from his ample stores of accurate and varied information; his second son, A. A. Rice, M. D., supplied the quaint and out-of-the-way information that other people did not possess, with an unlimited amount of appreciative laughter. Entire confidence, perfect congeniality and sincere affection united the group. The conversations took the widest range, with the freest and easiest flow, as philosophy, theology, poetry, art, general literature, anecdote, wit, humor and badinage, commanded the attention and ruled the hour. These were to us *noctes ambrosionæ*, in which McPheeters' social nature reveled with peculiar delight, and to the exquisite pleasure of which he contributed so largely.

"An illustration of the generous impulses of his heart and the peculiar attractiveness of his manner, by an incident which occurred, is afforded during a short stay in Staunton, Va., where he met with Commodore Skinner, U. S. N., and his family. He had taken up his residence in Staunton for the purpose of educating, at the State Asylum, his only daughter, who was a deaf mute. She was a most lovely, intelligent and fascinating girl of about twelve years of age. Mr. McPheeters' sympathies were at once aroused, and a deep interest excited for her. He extended to her such kind, considerate and delicate attentions that she became devotedly attached to him, and ever after cherished for him the greatest regard. She has never forgotten him, although that interview of a day or two was all she ever saw of him. He also made a brief visit to Lexington and its neighborhood, where he produced so decided and so favorable an impression that persons there love him, and talk of his visit to this day, though many of them were never permitted to meet with him again. His social nature, indeed, seemed to have been complete—an absolute and perfect development, possessed of every attractive and lovely trait. It appeared to be literally true—'None knew him but to love him; none named him but to praise.'

"Mr. McPheeters, as his friends love to remember, possessed a rare gift of original wit and a peculiar vein of natural humor, which gave an additional charm to his agreeable society. While he indulged these dangerous gifts, it was in the most innocent and playful manner. The shining arrows with which his quiver was ever filled never inflicted a wound or left a sting, although they always hit the mark. A few specimens of a perfectly impromptu character, which still live in the memory, may be allowed. Several of the students were talking of the probable difficulties they would encounter in their future pulpit efforts, and one of them remarked, 'I intend to study the Psalms well, and if I am at a loss for a sermon I will give an exposition of a Psalm.' Said he, instantly, 'No matter where I take my text, I expect to *expose a Sam* every time I preach.'

" On returning from a visit, during vacation, to his home in Raleigh, N. C., he promptly called upon Dr. Rice and his family, and in giving an account of his trip, he stated that he had come by Norfolk and taken the boat to Baltimore, and suffered severe sickness from the roughness of the bay. Dr. Rice pleasantly asked, ' How did you feel with the sea-sickness?' Said he, ' Doctor, I felt as if I was living under the old Testament dispensation, for I was making *heave* offerings and *wave* offerings as devotedly as any Jew.'

"Traveling with him by canal from Richmond to Scottsville, Virginia, and anticipating a tedious trip in that now obsolete mode of conveyance, I had furnished myself with a few volumes of light reading, and being absorbed in one of them, the conversation was interrupted, so he reluctantly consented to try one himself. It proved to be one of the last and poorest of James' novels. After some hours of reading, walking forward upon the deck, he was found on the prow of the boat and near enough to the surface of the water to reach it with his hand. He appeared to be tired and was yawning, when a humorous smile passed over his face, and supposing himself to be entirely alone, dipped the paper-backed volume into the canal, and as he shook the water out of its pages and turned again to read, he said, addressing the book, 'Well, I do hope you will not be quite *as dry now* as you have been.' Startled by a laugh, he blushed with as much confusion as a modest girl.

"Not unfrequently the writer was the target for the shining but bloodless arrows of his wit. Our intercourse and our dispositions were such that we permitted each other the largest liberty of attack, and kept up a sort of continual 'free fight,' as opportunity offered. I awakened one morning suffering from headache and nausea, caused by a temporary attack of dyspepsia, which kept me from breakfast and recitation. There had been some cases of typhoid fever of a malignant type, and I was apprehensive that I had symptoms of that disease. I talked a good deal about it, and was quite low spirited until near noon, when the headache passed off, leaving a sharp appetite for dinner. At the table McPheeters, who sat opposite, said, in a tone of great sympathy and tenderness, 'You were quite sick to-day, Lacy, and seemed to think you would have typhoid fever. I suppose you expect to be sick a *long time*, from the large amount of provisions you are laying up for it.'

"Several of 'our set' were engaged in conversation in our room, I being absent. At a turn in the conversation some word or expression suggested an indifferent pun or an obvious and very commonplace witticism. McPheeters, who saw it, exclaimed, 'Now, if Lacy were here he would say so and so, and to test it I will call him in.' I came, in my innocency, at the summons, and as the parties repeated their remarks, just as he had predicted, I fell into the trap and said *precisely what* he declared I would say. His triumph was complete and his enjoyment great.

"I had, in company with Wm. M. Scott, taken an interesting trip, during a vacation, up the Hudson, on Lake Champlain (from Burlington by Montpelier, Hanover, the seat of Dartmouth College, the commencement of which we attended), and then by Concord, Lowell, Boston, Providence and New York City, home. We had met with quite a variety of interesting incidents and remarkable characters, which furnished occasional topics of conversation for months of the session. I made the most of it, and called it 'my grand tour.' For a long time afterward whenever there was lack of interest or of topics in our conversation, McPheeters would say, 'Come, Lacy, here is a good chance for you to put another *story upon that grand tower* of yours. I don't think it is more than fifteen stories high.'

"In the intercourse of after years, often interrupted by time and distance, but frequently renewed, the same traits which marked his life at the Seminary exhibited themselves in the matured man and the experienced minister. There was always a wonderful intermingling of the serious and the playful, the pathetic and the humorous. The peculiar features of the intercourse at the Seminary, doubtless, gave to these interviews a larger element of the anecdotal than exhibited itself in general society. His ordinary deportment was easy, dignified and serious, and very far removed from flippancy or levity. From a number of interviews which live in the memory, and on which the mind dwells with peculiar delight, one or two may be introduced: He was in attendance on the assembly, which met at Indianapolis, as a visitor. Opportunity was thus afforded, in the intervals of interesting discussions, for long walks and confidential conversation. The past was reviewed and the providences of God during the years of separation recounted. He had been happy and successful in his pastoral work in St. Louis, happy in his family and happy in his friends, and was bright and cheerful, full of hope and full of energy. He was deeply interested in the progress of the West, the growth of the city of St. Louis, the affairs of the Church, and the interests of Westminster College—all the evidences were furnished of a matured character, and of a highly intellectual and moral development. It was evident, too, that he had lost none of his characteristic humor and talent for anecdote. A wide and varied experience had embraced many amusing incidents and added largely to the old stock of anecdotes. A fair exchange was made, which, in that case, was no robbery, as the supply of each had been about doubled.

"It will be recalled with pleasure by a congenial group of ministers, who were also visitors at the Assembly, how, on an occasion when the supply of anecdotes was exhausted with the rest of the company, McPheeters brought out his reserve forces, and related two of the most dramatic and charmingly amusing stories ever heard—gems of the first water—worthy of the Orient, and both, too, incidents of his own personal experience. Those who heard him will never forget his account of the 'coat' in which he once preached, and his first and last attempt to administer baptism by immersion. The pen is tempted to reproduce them, but the tone, the accent, the expression and the inimitable manner are all beyond its power.

"His fund of anecdote was very great and his manner of relating a story unsurpassed; but he was never betrayed into the common and most objectionable fault of admitting anything indelicate or irreverent in its character. His humorous and entertaining stories were all suited to the parlor and fitted for the ears of the sensitive and the refined. On that subject, as upon all others, his conscience was his faithful monitor, and he was ever scrupulous to obey its instructions and to heed its warnings.

" Almost ten years passed away before another interview—years of darkness, of dissension and of war in the land—and, to him, years of perplexity, persecution, sorrow and disease. The manly and graceful form was bent by a painful spinal curvature, was worn to emaciation, and was prostrate upon a couch, where he had been confined for two years. His face was thin and marked with the lines of care and suffering; his hair and beard, once a dark and beautiful brown, were turning white. His whole appearance made a deep and affecting impression upon the sensibilities of the beholder. He was, however, stronger and more comfortable than his appearance indicated. Perfectly resigned to his Heavenly Father's will, he was calm, brave, cheerful and happy. The conversations for several days together were continued and most interesting, embracing a wide range of topics—providential dealings, religious experience, opinions, sentiments, trials, triumphs and future hopes, all passed in review. Not unfrequently the old humorous way would return, and he would call for some favorite anecdote or demand a new one; nor would he hesitate to narrate, with all his former zest, some amusing incident which had not before been heard. The opportunity was afforded on Sabbath for witnessing the remarkable service, which was afterward transferred to the Church. His chamber and the adjacent hall were filled with the members of his congregation, composed chiefly of the young, with whom he engaged in most delightful religious exercises, embracing most of the best elements of the Bible class, prayer-meeting and lecture. It was easily understood how the most blessed results had followed from these able, instructive and most interesting services. His prayers were especially impressive from their spirituality, fervor, humility, pensive beauty and touching pathos. There is a strong temptation to enter more fully into the details of that wonderful life at Mulberry, and to describe the man of God as he rested submissively under his Heavenly Father's afflictive hand, surrounded by a devoted people, and nursed by the loving care of a faithful wife and affectionate children; but that is the appropriate task of his biographer, and to one having such opportunities and so well qualified the precious work may be safely entrusted. To the same hands are committed all that might be said in regard to his visit to St. Louis and his stay of a month among his dear friends at the house of his brother, as well as the mournful and interesting scene when his precious dust was laid in its resting place in Bellefontaine Cemetery; nor will a portrait of his character be here attempted. His leading characteristic was his *faith*, his crowning excellence was his humble, devoted *piety*. He ever sought to secure the same mind in himself which was in Christ Jesus his Lord. Love to God and love to his fellow men were the controlling principles of his life, and these enabled him so well to act his part in life and to approach so near to the fulfilling of the law.

" He was brought by grace and sufferings to the possession of a *heavenly mind*—for whatsoever things were true, whatsoever things were honest, whatsover things were just, whatsoever things were lovely, whatsoever things were of good report —if there were any virtue, and if there were any praise, he thought on those things. To him rather than to any man we have known may be applied the apostolic description of that αγαπη—that holy love. 'He suffered long and was kind, he envied not, he vaunted not himself, he was not puffed up, he did not behave himself unseemly, he sought not his own, he was not easily provoked, he thought no evil, he rejoiced not in iniquity, but rejoiced in the truth. He bore all things, he believed all things, he hoped all things, he endured all things.'

"'He fought the good fight, he finished his course, he kept the faith; hence there was laid up for him a crown of righteousness, which the righteous Judge hath given him.'"

CHAPTER IV.

INVITATION TO VIRGINIA—MINISTRY TO THE COLORED PEOPLE.

Mr. McPheeters, as has already appeared in the Diary, entertained a desire, even while in the Seminary, to make "full proof of his ministry" first among the colored people. Immediately after his licensure the opportunity occurred; and in reference to the call, settlement and labors in Nottaway and Amelia, Dr. Pryor furnishes the following particulars:

"The Presbytery of East Hanover, determined to make a faithful effort for the religious instruction of the colored people, appointed a committee, of which I was chairman, charged with the duty of securing a suitable preacher. A correspondence with the Rev. Dr. Archibald Alexander, of Princeton, brought to our view Mr. Samuel B. McPheeters, at that time a student in the Seminary. My impression is that Mr. McPheeters came to us a licentiate of Orange Presbytery, N. C. He commenced his labors as a preacher to the colored people of the counties of Amelia and Nottaway some time in the year 1846. He lived at 'Mountain Hall,' the residence of Dr. James Jones, an elder in the Nottaway church.

Mr. McPheeters adopted the system of plantation preaching during the week, and gathered the colored people in some church on the Sabbath. He was diligent, faithful and very acceptable in his work. No man could have been more popular among the people of his charge. All persons, white and black, esteemed him most highly and were sincerely attached to him. His habits of social intercourse were so remarkably pleasant that he was a welcome guest in every family.

"After laboring most diligently in his appropriate work for about eighteen months, having been invited to take charge of the Amelia church, he determined to do so. On Sunday, June 10, 1848, at Chinquepin church, in the county of Amelia, he was solemnly ordained to the full work of the gospel ministry by the Presbytery of East Hanover.

"On that occasion Rev. H. V. D. Nevius presided and proposed the constitutional questions. Rev. T. Pryor preached the sermon and delivered the charge to the evangelist. Rev. J. D. Dudley made the ordaining prayer. In due time Mr. McPheeters received a regular call to the pastorship of the Amelia church, which, however, he never saw his way clear to accept. I think his labors in Amelia extended over two years. During the whole period of his ministry, both in Nottaway and Amelia, he was universally acceptable to all classes, white and black, rich and poor. The Church in Amelia did all in their power to retain him; but having received a call to Missouri, he felt it his duty to go. The people within and without the Church parted with him most reluctantly. For myself, I have to say that through a ministerial life now not far from forty years in duration I have never met with a man whom I more sincerely esteemed or more cordially loved."

Reference will once more be made to the diary:

"On the 1st of September, 1846, I left Raleigh for the county of Nottaway, Va., in compliance with a call from East Hanover Presbytery, through a committee appointed for that purpose, to labor as a missionary among the blacks of that and the adjoining county of Amelia. When I arrived in the county I found Mr. Pryor from home and sick, and being entirely unacquainted with any one else, I found myself at a loss what to do. Next day being the day of the county court, I hired a horse and visited the seat of justice, in hopes of meeting some one whom I should know or might get acquainted with. I made the acquaintance of Captain Richard Jones, Mr. Booth and Robert Fitzgerald. In a short time Mr. Pryor returned; but the county was so sickly—there hardly being a family in which there was not more than half the number down with chills and fever—that, upon the advice of Mr. Pryor, I determined to go up to Prince Edward's and remain at the Seminary until the meeting of Presbytery, in Brunswick county, the first of October.

"Taking the stage at Black's-and-White's, I rode all night, and next morning found myself at Farmville; thence taking another stage, I was put down within about a mile of the Seminary. During my stay at the Seminary I was very kindly urged by Dr. Graham to remain with him, which I did. The commencement at Hampden Sidney came off while I was in Prince Edward's. We had speeches from Mr. Tazewell, M. D. Hoge and President Garland, of Randolph-Macon College.

"My stay at the Seminary was a very pleasant one. Leaving the town of Farmville, I came down to Nottaway, by stage, in company with Mr. Gildersleeve and a Mr. Kirkpatrick. From Black's-and-White's, where the stage stopped, Mr. Gildersleeve and myself walked over to Mr. Pryor's, at which place we were joined, in a day or two, by Hoge; and all of us in a few days went over to the meeting of Presbytery, in Brunswick, at Concord Church, under the pastoral care of the Rev. Mr. Galbraith. The meeting was a small one, owing to various causes. At this meeting I made arrangements to engage in the missionary work before mentioned, under the direction of the committee of Presbytery.

"Since my return from Presbytery I have been making what preparations I have been able for the prosecution of my work. After consultation with Bro. Pryor it was thought best to confine my labors to this county almost exclusively, rather than, by extending them into Amelia, make the whole plan ineffectual by embracing too large a territory.

"The first of November I came into the family of Dr. James Jones to live, and having visited most of the Presbyterian families, and made such arrangements as suggested themselves, I will begin on the first Sabbath of December my regular circuit. I have preached, since my arrival in the county, five times for Bro. Pryor, three times in the Chapel, two funeral sermons, and twice to Dr. Jones' negroes. The prospect for the work is, upon the whole, encouraging. In the week ending December 13, 1846, on Saturday, noon, I left this place for Mr. Freeman Eppes', fifteen miles distant, where I spent the night, and remained until about ten o'clock next morning. Was very kindly entertained by Mrs. E., in the absence of her husband. Sunday morning proved to be dark and cloudy, but having made the appointment to preach at Shiloh Church, two miles and a half below, I set out for the meeting in a slight rain, and found a better congregation than I had expected, although not very large. Mr. Wm. Bland, his wife and mother, were among my auditors. I addressed the assembly from John xii. 21—'Sir, we would see Jesus;' and took occasion to make some remarks suited to a funeral discourse of five of Mr. Eppes' negroes. In this section of country every person dying must have a funeral discourse preached over them, if it should be ten years after the event. This is only advantageous in one respect: it gives an opportunity of preaching the Gospel. The audience was generally attentive. After sermon I went home with Mr. Bland. I had some religious conversation with Mr. Bland. Although not a member of the Church, I hope he is a Christian, and judge that he intends soon to connect himself with the Presbyterian Church.

"Monday; still rainy, or rather a heavy mist and cold northeast wind; after breakfast set out for Mr. Wills', eight miles distant; reached there about eleven o'clock. Mr. Wills is an elder; seems to be a kind man and consistent Christian. Preached to his servants, in his hall, some ten or twelve in number, from the parable of the Sower, Mark iv. The object of this discourse, which I preach at all the plantations this week, was to show the importance of the proper attendance on the preaching of the Word. Tuesday was a warm, clear, spring-like day, until about noon, when it began to rain. Left Mr. Wills' at nine o'clock, and reached Mr. Boothe's by eleven; Mr. B. from home; remained there until next morning; preached to his people, thirty or forty I judge, in his basement story, by candle light; Mr. Archer Jones, brother of Mrs. B., and the other members of the White family, present. Mr. Boothe's is nearly ten miles from Taylor Wills'. Wednesday, a disagreeable morning, but no rain until the afternoon. Left Mr. B.'s about 9 a. m., and reached Captain R. Jones' about 10:30, four miles and a half from Mr. B.'s; preached to his servants about twelve, in school house; Mrs. Morton, Miss Walker and Miss Eleanor Jones present. Thursday morning, rainy; did not leave Captain Jones' until nearly one, the rain having held up, for Freeman Eppes', three miles distant; preached in his dining room, basement story, immediately after dinner; remained until nine next morning; rode to Blacks-and-Whites on some business; there received a letter from my friend, J. H. Rice, New Orleans, containing an invitation to preach on the plantation of Mrs. Ogden, of Louisiana, living several miles from Grand Gulf. Mrs. O. appears very anxious to procure a minister, as she offered me eight hundred dollars, board, horse, &c. I will not, of course, leave my present situation. Returned to Mr. Pryor's and took dinner, immediately after which, 2 p. m., set out for this place, and reached it just as the sun was setting; the roads very muddy; my labors I find to be very arduous in the uncertain state of the weather; upon the whole, encouraged; the planters give me all the assistance I expected, and the servants generally attentive.

"DEC. 21st.—By previous appointment I preached in the Baptist church called Nottaway, on Sabbath last, to a mixed congregation, principally negroes; had a larger number out than I have had on any previous occasion. The Baptist brethren have kindly permitted me to preach in their church. My text was, Heb. xi. 13, last clause—'Life as a pilgrimage.' The audience generally attentive and silent. Returned home to dinner, and after supper preached to Dr. Jones' negroes in his old dining-room—Mark iv.

"On Monday was to have gone to Crawley Jones', but at his request postponed it until Friday. Tuesday preached on the plantations of Wm. Ward, Robt. Ward and Mrs. Ward, in the shed of the barn; congregation large and attentive. Next day went down to see Captain Perkinson, in Amelia, intending to return the next day, but it rained furiously. Friday went to C. Jones' and preached to his negroes and part of Wm. and Robt. Ward's.

"THIRD WEEK IN DECEMBER.—Sunday preached at the chapel, which has been for some time the colored church. It was built by Robert Fitzgerald for this purpose, on his land. Found no one assembled, and at first gave up the idea of preaching; but concluded to do so, as a few assembled. Text: Heb. xi.—'Stranger and pilgrim. Went from church to Bro. Pryor's; remained there Monday. Tuesday preached for Robt. Fitzgerald's negroes. These people have a strong disposition to shout. Wednesday went to Colonel Wm. Knight's; stayed there until Thursday evening.

"JANUARY, 1847; SECOND WEEK.—Tuesday preached at Mr. Ward's quarter, in the barn, to a pretty good congregation; but it was very cold—so much so that I could hardly command my voice. Tuesday evening I preached again to Dr. Jones' negroes.

"FOURTH WEEK IN JANUARY.—On Saturday morning went to court house, expecting to hear the trial of Bob for killing Mr. Robinson; but not a sufficient number of magistrates present. Continued on to Mrs. Fanny Eppes'; roads in a wretched condition—half frozen mud and snow. Took dinner with Bro. Pryor and family. After dinner went to Capt. Jones'. Sunday preached at Shiloh; a pretty good congregation; subject, Repentance; returned and dined with Capt. Jones; rode to Butt's; preached after tea. Next morning rode over to T. Will's; preached at twelve o'clock, dined and returned to Capt. Jones'; preached that night; next morning rode over to Freeman Eppes'; preached at 3 P. M, and rode to Mrs. Fanny Eppes'; next morning set out for home; stopped at the court house to converse with Bob: found him ignorant, but distressed on the subject of religion; returned home. By appointment went to Capt. Perkinson's, in Amelia; preached there on Saturday night. Sunday morning rode up to Mt. Zion and preached — Parable of the Builders; congregation a pretty good one, and the prospects encouraging.

"FEB. 21ST–27TH.—Dark, misty, disagreeable day was Sunday, but concluded to go down to the chapel and preach, if there should be a congregation (there are generally enough present to report that the preacher was not there); the ride a very disagreeable one; found a few at the chapel and more coming in.; preached on Noah's building the ark; went down to Bro. Pryor's and spent the night and part of next day with him. That evening (Monday) went to Robt. Fitzgerald's and preached to his people; next morning rode to Colonel Wm. Knight's and preached, after dark, to his people in his hall. Wednesday rode over to Col. Knight's, Sr., distant five miles, and preached to his family; Bro. Pryor met me there. Perhaps less encouragement in this neighborhood than any other.

"FEB. 28—MARCH 6.—I had made an appointment to preach on Saturday at 12 o'clock at Mrs. Eppes', but it rained so hard that I was prevented from going. After dinner it was somewhat more pleasant, and I set out for Col. Eppes' and spent the night with him; the roads—mud! mud!! mud!!! Next morning set out for Shiloh, which I reached about 12 o'clock; found a pretty good congregation in attendance and every attention. I hope good will be done among this people. I felt more liberty in preaching than usual. After sermon went to Capt. Jones' and took dinner. About 3 o'clock set out for Mr. Boothe's; the day has been very cold, windy and disagreeable; preached at night to Mr. Boothe's family; the congregation appeared to be heavy and listless. Monday morning I rode over to Taylor Wills'; was encouraged to find he had erected a chapel in conjunction with Mr. McQuay, and hereafter I am to preach in that. Same evening I returned to Capt. Jones' and preached for his people; the congregation very solemn and attentive. From Capt. Jones' rode over to Mr. Freeman Eppes' and spent the day with him; quite sick in the evening, but made out to preach after supper. Set out next morning for home, and reached here after 12 o'clock."

Rev. D. W. Shanks, of Falling Spring, Va., remarks:

"He was, as far as I know, universally loved and admired as a man and a preacher. He had no enemies. I have heard that his preaching did more to attract attention to and build up the Presbyterian Church in Amelia than the labors of any one else. He gave Presbyterianism a start there. His social popularity and his pulpit performance drew many to hear him who before never entered a Presbyterian Church. Of the actual increase in numbers of the Church while he ministered there I am not informed. My impression is that there was not a large accession to the membership during his ministry. The Church, however, became influential and popular, and the way was opened for its enlargement under his successors. He left there for St. Louis when his prospects for usefulness were greatest, and his labors would have soon issued in abundant fruit. His name is mentioned now, by those who knew him, with a peculiar affection. I believe the love of his friends there for him was more tender and affectionate than that which ministers generally enjoy. He was exceedingly popular as a preacher among the blacks. He was considered in that section to be the greatest preacher for negroes that ever lived. I suppose few men understood so well the negro character and could adapt themselves so readily to its idiosyncrasies. In his sermons to them he abounded in illustrations and generally gained and kept their attention without interruption, and yet did and said nothing unbecoming the place or the master. He treated them with politeness and kindness, and had their entire confidence.

"I can tell you a little anecdote which he related to me, which will illustrate the confidence and love of the negroes for him. There was an old negro, named Hampton (who died while I was pastor), who was a member of the Presbyterian Church, and in every respect a worthy one. He was unusually intelligent and had great influence over the blacks. When Mr. McPheeters had accepted the call to St. Louis, and the night before he left the county, after he had parted with the family with whom he was staying and retired to his room, old Hampton went up to say good-bye. With great earnestness he remonstrated against Mr. McPheeters leaving them. But finding that nothing availed, he took him by the hand with great tenderness and said: 'Good-bye, Mas Mac; the Lord sent you to us, but I am mightily afraid the devil is taking you away.' McPheeters said this hurt him, and staggered him more than everything else said to him by his friends there.

"He had the uncommon talent of simplifying the truth in such a way that these people understood him. That old man Hampton had as clear an idea of salvation—yes clearer, I was about to say—than six-tenths of the white Christians. It was a real pleasure to me to talk with him. So well assured was I of the genuineness of his piety and the excellency of his life that for his funeral sermon I took Heb. vi. 12, and held him up as an example to the flock. I have no doubt that his clear views of the plan of salvation were traceable to McPheeters' instruction.

"McPheeters had a great influence over the young, especially young men. He was so social and accessible that they felt at home with him, and he was so gentle, kind and loving that he won their hearts. Indeed, no class could resist his attractions. There were two gentlemen in Amelia (one of whom I knew) who were highly cultivated, professional men, but irreligious, and yet these men sought his company and would talk with him for hours. And although he was thus familiar and jovial with these irreligious people, he never lost their respect and they never forgot that he was a minister. He had the happy faculty of rebuking offenders without giving offense. He told me once a little incident that happened while in Amelia which would illustrate this if I could recall it in detail. A young lady behaved very unseemly at church while he was preaching. Some time after he met her at a party. He proceeded to relate a parallel case and got her to commit herself, and then applied it. It was all done so good humoredly, and was such a happy hit, that the young lady could not take offense, while she and others could not but laugh. She acknowledged ingenuously her fault, and ever after was a reformed person in church. I have no doubt that Lacy can give you the anecdote in full. I believe the incident of the dialogue which he held with his conscience about shutting a farm gate happened in Amelia. Lacy knows this, and it will illustrate his exceeding conscientiousness, whilst his attempt to baptize by dipping (which I have heard a friend of his, and an irreligious man, there relate) will illustrate another feature in his character, to-wit: that in matters indifferent, where his conscience was not engaged, he was ready, for the gospel's sake, to become to the weak as weak, and to be made all things to all men, that he might by all means save some. This anecdote Lacy can also tell you.

"After his removal to St. Louis he returned once to Amelia and preached. I have been told that, after service, the people gathered about him and offered him such tributes of tender love as have rarely been witnessed. Indeed, as I said before, he had no enemies, and warmer friends no man could count. The tongue which covered the character of all others with its foul slime only uttered his praise."

Here was a minister qualified to fill exalted station, who, in the vigor of young manhood, devoted himself, in conjunction with others of like mind, to the religious necessities of the humble blacks. In the Carolinas, under burning suns and amid blinding sands, toiled the steadfast Jones, while on the Virginia plantations, through "mud, mud, mud," tramped the pure-minded McPheeters, "with a soul as great as Cæsar's." Day after day, hot or cold, wet or dry, the heroic two were at veritable work to save the poor negro, and with small pay, or prospect of pay, that men could see. And, furthermore, it was noted by many, that what these evangelists did do for the slave cost pains and sweat.

Elsewhere work (if we may call it so) of a very different sort went on. In curiously constructed apartments, crowded with antique furniture, on easy chairs, at desks inlaid with pearl—the sun's rays carefully shut off by delicate lattice—sat laborers, golden pen in hand, ready to denounce slavery "as a covenant with death and an agreement with hell," and "with *these words*" to comfort the ignorant bondman. And it was noted, still further, by a few, that such philanthropy as this, some how or other, got its wages steadily increased, and from year to year the heat and cold were kept in closer quarantine, while yonder at the South slaveholding evangelists, for Christ's sake and for the sake of souls, were willing to tramp through "mud, mud, mud."

Mr. McPheeters, in preaching to the colored people, usually selected a subject that not only justified argument, but opened up a field for graphic exposition. On one occasion, the writer heard him preach from the story of blind Bartimeus. The body of the edifice below was occupied by the blacks, while the galleries above were reserved for the whites. At the appointed time the young minister made his appearance. His very countenance exhibited such sincerity, solemnity and hopefulness that criticism, if it existed, was disarmed from the start. The introductory service was charmingly simple. A brief, clear and tender exordium established the speaker most completely in the heart of the hearer, and then the rags, beggary and blindness of Bartimeus were turned over and over again to illustrate afresh the wonder and glory of the grace of Christ, until, as the preacher advanced, his body swayed under emotion, while every feature of the face literally glowed with the light. The manner of McPheeters was not only original, but wonderfully engaging. His illustrations of truth did not influence the understanding simply, but glanced downward, irresistibly, to the very core of the heart. All classes were reached. What affected the servant below reached just as effectually the feelings of the master above. Thus it was demonstrated once more that the gospel, in its simplicity, is the great power of God unto all. The youthful preacher gains the ear of the people, not with enticing words of man's wisdom, not with rare exhibitions of philosophic discussion, not with any art of the practiced rhetorician, but grasping, with steadfast earnestness, the sword of the Spirit, the incorruptible Word, he finds this, and this alone, mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds.

The sermon that follows is only a meagre outline of the discourse as it fell from the lips of the preacher:

THE BLIND MAN RESTORED TO SIGHT—Mark x. 46–53.

These words tell us of one of the wonderful works of the Lord Jesus. When on earth our Lord did many miracles, and what is remarkable, every one of them was intended in some way to help or bless men. He never healed an animal. He never brought a dead animal to life. The reason was not that He did not care for animals, but because He came into the world to be the Savior of men, and He wished to show by what He did for their bodies what He was willing to do for their souls. All the evils that have come on our bodies have come from sin. If there had been no sin there would have been no blind or lame or sick. Christ came to "make an end of sin;" and to show that he could and would do it, He made an end of the troubles that sin has turned in on the body. He healed the sick, cured the lame, gave sight to the blind, and raised the dead. And when He did these things, it was as if He said, I can also heal your sin-sick soul, open the eyes of your blind hearts, and give you spiritual life.

In this opening of the eyes of poor, blind Bartimeus, therefore, we may learn some very important lessons, for every sinner is, spiritually, in just his condition—blind and poor. The sinner may not feel this to be his condition, but it is so, whether he feels it or not. The Lord Jesus tells us of some who said they were "rich and increased with goods, and had need of nothing, and knew not that they were wretched and miserable and poor and blind and naked." To the blind man the world is all dark. He sees no beauty in green fields or bright flowers. He may hear others talking about these things, and he may talk about them himself, but he sees nothing; all is dark to him. So to the sinner, religion is all dark. He sees nothing bright or beautiful in the service of God. He may talk about religion as he hears others talk, but he does not understand it; it is dark to him, for he is blind. This is the reason religion is such a gloomy thing to sinners. The gospel is not gloomy; it is full of light and joy and glory. But Paul tells us that "the God of this world," that is, Satan, "hath blinded the minds of them that believed not, lest the light of the glorious gospel of Christ, who is the image of God, should shine unto them."

As the sinner's case is so much like this blind man's, so he can not do better than to act as he did.

We are told that as Jesus and his disciples and a great number of people were coming out of Jericho, "blind Bartimeus, the son of Timeus, sat by the highway side begging."

Happy was it for this blind man that he was so near the place where Jesus passed. Had he been on some other road, along which Jesus did not pass, he might have lived and died blind. There are places of which it may be truly said, it is good to be there—there are places where Jesus still passes and blesses. The house of God is one of these places, for the Bible tells us "God's way is in the sanctuary." The place of secret prayer is another, and it is good for the blind to be there "begging." For most of those who keep away from the Church and the place of prayer miss Christ and die in their sins.

As the blind man sat by the wayside he heard the tramp of the multitude, and was told by some one that Jesus of Nazareth was passing by. No doubt he had heard of Jesus before, for the whole country was full of reports concerning Him—how He healed the sick and raised the dead. And he may also have heard how kind He was to the poor and friendless. It is plain that he believed on Jesus, for he called Him Son of David, which shows that he believed Him to be the Savior God had promised to send.

"He began to cry out and say, Jesus, Thou Son of David, have mercy on me!" Mark well this prayer! It was a very humble one—it was for mercy. Mercy is favor shown to those who have no claims, and he felt that he had no claims. Many, even among those who are seeking salvation, make a great mistake here. They do not ask for mercy. They expect to be saved for something they are to do or feel. Their prayer really means—save me for my tears, or, save me for my prayers, or, save me for my repentance; they want to get a claim on God. Not so this blind man. He offered no price for what he wanted; he felt that he was not only blind, but very poor; "he sat by the wayside begging." And the sinner is poor and blind, and he, too, must come to Jesus *begging*. We may work our way to hell, but we must beg our way to heaven; "for the wages of sin is death, but the GIFT of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord."

But it was not at once that the blind man came to the Savior. He had some difficulties to overcome, for "many charged him that he should hold his peace." And it may be doubted if ever there was one who got to the Savior without meeting with difficulties. Many things within and without say to the soul beginning to call on Jesus for mercy, "hold your peace." Satan makes use of false shame or wicked friends, or he puts some hindrance in the way to keep the troubled soul still. Many charged this poor blind man to hold his peace. But what did he do? "He cried the more a great deal, Thou Son of David, have mercy on me." He would not be hushed; he was truly in earnest, and all who would be saved must be in earnest. "Strive," said Jesus, "to enter in at the strait gate." If difficulties are in the way, they must be overcome. Men expect to meet difficulties and overcome them in everything else, why not in religion? Whoever got riches or honor or pleasure without being so much in earnest as to do all that is necessary to be done. No man can be saved without being in earnest about it. God is in earnest, and Christ is in earnest, and Satan is in earnest, and so must we be if we would be saved. And those who seek the Savior with all their heart will find Him. See what He did for this blind man! "And Jesus stood still and commanded him to be called; and they called the blind man, saying unto him, be of good comfort, rise, He calleth thee." It seems from their comforting him that the blind man had begun to be troubled because his prayer was not answered. With what joy, then, did he hear the word, "Rise, He calleth thee." And these words may be sounded in the ears of every poor sinner who is earnestly calling on Christ for mercy. "Rise, He calleth thee." Hear Him say, "Look unto me all ye ends of the earth and be ye saved." "Whosoever will let him take of the water of life freely." Surely, when

Jesus says this, "He calleth thee;" and why should any one doubt or hesitate to go to the Savior who is thus calling?

It is strange that many who know that Christ calls them in these invitations, and who sometimes feel that they would like to go,hold back because they do not feel that they are fit to go. They think there is something, they can not tell exactly what, to be done or felt by them before they can come to Christ. This is a great mistake. Suppose this blind man, when Jesus stopped and called him, had waited to see before he went? How foolish it would have been? But not more so than the sinner's waiting to get ready to go to Christ. Jesus receives sinners, and all that the sinner needs to do is just to act as this blind man did. Hearing the Savior's call, "he, casting away his garment" or cloak, "rose and came to Jesus." He delayed not a moment for anything; his cloak was in his way and he threw that off. So the sinner should throw aside everything that hinders his coming to Christ—his vain excuses, the filthy garment of his self-righteousness, his hope of getting better—and come just as he is.

"And Jesus answered and said unto him, What wilt thou that I should do unto thee?" And the blind man turned his sightless eyes toward Jesus and said unto Him, "Lord, that I might receive my sight." This, too, is the very prayer for the sinner to offer. For he needs to have the eyes of his heart opened that he may see how lost and ruined and helpless a sinner he is, and how great and willing and loving a Savior Jesus is!

"And Jesus said unto him, go thy way, thy faith hath made thee whole. And immediately he received his sight." Yes, in a moment the dark mist of gloomy years rolled away, and he was like one who had come into a new world. Then he knew that the darkness he had all along felt was in himself, not in the beautiful world. And with what surprise does the soul brought out of nature's darkness into the glorious light of the gospel find the service of God to be a joyous and happy service.

Jesus said to the blind man, "thy faith hath made thee whole." How? By bringing him to Christ. He believed that Jesus was the promised Savior, that he was able to heal him. This led him to call upon Him for mercy; to keep calling till he was heard. He trusted in Christ, and was healed by Christ.

Now notice what the blind man did when he was healed. He followed Jesus in the way. He seems to have loved his society. Our Lord and those who were with him were going up to Jerusalem to worship at the great feast, and he will go with them, for, no doubt, Jesus opened not only the eyes of his body but of his soul.

And every soul that has seen Jesus as its Savior—every one who has truly come to Him for healing, becomes a *follower*. When He opens the eyes of any one he sees so much of beauty in Him that he is drawn with cords of love to run after Him.

CHAPTER V.

SETTLEMENT AND LABORS IN AMELIA.

For more than a year McPheeters preached the gospel from plantation to plantation, and the zeal and self-denial of this godly minister attracted the attention even of unbelievers. In September, 1847, the evangelist began to entertain thoughts of a pastorate. The diary says:

"Having considered the subject with care and attention, I have come to the conclusion that it is my duty to give up my present field and seek the pastoral relation. My principal reasons are the following: 1st. While I consider the work as one of very great interest and importance, and my views, in this respect, have undergone no change, I am persuaded that, as a pastor, I can accomplish as much, perhaps more, for the instruction of the negroes than I can as a missionary. 2d. I find the labor and exposure of my present field likely to undermine my health. 3d. There is but little prospect of carrying out my plan in this country. 4th. I find that it is likely to be of permanent injury to me as a preacher. 5th. My most judicious friends advise me to this course.

"Before I left Nottoway I had received an informal invitation from the elders of Pisgah church, Woodford county, Ky., to come and preach for them, in reference to a settlement. This invitation I had substantially declined, as I had not then made up my mind to quit my missionary work. Upon determining to give up this field, however, I concluded to accompany Scott and his bride to Kentucky, look at the country, and, if a place offers, to see whether it would suit me and I it. We set out for Philadelphia on Monday, 13th of September, for the West. Spent first night in Baltimore. Next day took Baltimore and Ohio railroad for Cumberland, by Harper's Ferry, and reached Cumberland that night. Without stopping, we took stage for Wheeling; crossed the Cumberland Mountains and arrived in Wheeling on the night following—a very fatiguing ride of one hundred and thirty miles, and some six hours behind our time. In Wheeling we remained part of a day, and then took a steamboat down the Ohio river. Spending the Sabbath in Portsmouth, we arrived in Cincinnati early in the week, and took the boat there for Frankfort, Ky., and reached Mr. Berryman's, seven miles from Lexington, early in the week—Wednesday, I think. Here I remained, and in the neighborhood. In the meantime the elders had selected a minister to fill the vacancy at Pisgah, and I was thinking of making my arrangements to return home, when I was invited to preach at the churches of Woodford and Harmony, which I did for three Sabbaths. They then proposed to give me a call, which I declined considering until I should return to Virginia. I left Mr. Berryman's, where I had been so kindly entertained, on Monday, Sept. 11, and set out for this place, Dr. Jones'. Was detained in Cincinnati two days by sickness, and reached here, by the same way I went, on the 23d of October. When at Mr. Eppes', I received an invitation to visit the church in Amelia, with a view to a call, and as I had made an arrangement to preach there the first Sabbath of November, I went over last Sabbath and preached at Mt. Zion. For more than a week I have had a distresssing pain in the lower part of my abdomen, which has given me some uneasiness; preached, however, in the evening. Went with Dr. Anderson next day to Garland Jefferson's, that night to Frank Eggleston's, and then home. I made no arrangement with the Amelia church.

" SUNDAY, NOV. 4.—Preached to-day in the upper church my farewell sermon; congregation not large. Was much affected at the prospect of seeing and preaching to this people no more. This evening preached to Dr. Jones' people.

NOV. 15.—Preached at 12 o'clock at Crawley Jones'—the room full. When I concluded, the people came to bid me farewell, with tears.

" NOV. 19.—A letter from the Church at Woodford, Ky.'

NOV. 21.—Preached to-day at the chapel, the congregation the largest that I have ever seen there; but they came in so irregularly that it, in a great measure, defeated the sermon.

" JAN. 31, 1848.—I have for a long time neglected to write in my journal, for reasons which it would be difficult for me now to state.

" The choice which I should make between the Church in Woodford, Ky., and Amelia, for a long time, gave me much anxiety. After deliberation, I concluded to go to Kentucky, and had made all my arrangements to do so, when I was invited to Amelia to preach a funeral sermon. I went for the double purpose of preaching and announcing my determination to go to Kentucky. The members of the Church seemed greatly disappointed and troubled at my decision. Dr. Anderson and Mr. Jefferson accompanied me to the house of Capt. Perkinson, another elder, and they, also, united in a desire for me to remain. I told them freely my difficulties. Among others, that I saw no prospect of making a permanent settlement among them, as I was persuaded that I could not remain longer than a year, or at most two years, among them. They stated that they were resolved to have a pastor, and had fixed upon me. If I would consent to remain, at least for a year, that we could then make a trial and see what could be done; that for the next year they would personally pledge to me an adequate salary, and added many other considerations, especially the destitution and feeble state of the Church. After considering the whole matter, at no inconsiderable sacrifice of my personal preferences and pecuniary advantage, I resolved, as a matter of duty, to remain.

"I was ordained by the Presbytery of East Hanover, at Chinquepin church, on the 11th day of June, 1848. Members of Presbytery present—Revs. Mr. Pryor, Nevius and Dudley. I preached in the evening; Mr. Pryor in the morning.

"MARCH 17, 1849.—Rode up to Painville, dined with Dr. Evans' family, visited Mr. Wisigar's family, saw Mrs. Miller, in the evening performed the marriage ceremony for two colored people at Dr. Evans'.

"MAY 10.—Remained at home. Received several letters, one telling me that brother Alexander and sister Jane had made a profession of religion. For this the Lord be praised. Every member of my father's family are now members of the Church. The union of a whole family in heaven is, indeed, a glorious prospect.

"DEC. 1ST.—Visited Mrs. Frank Eggleston and dined. When I came home found three letters—one from Dr. Harrison, Chairman of the Faculty of the University of Virginia, informing me of my appointment to the Chaplaincy; one from Dr. McGuffey, urging acceptance; one from Ruffner, do.

"DEC. 6TH.—Spent a miserable day deciding upon the call to the University; up until 2 A. M.

"DEC. 7TH.—One of the most distressing days of my life, from the same cause. Decided to reject the call; up until 5 A. M."

The testimony of Mr. J. G. Jefferson, of Amelia county, Va., is interesting. He says:

"When I first became acquainted with Mr. McPheeters he was preaching to the colored people in Nottoway county, having appointments at the houses of large planters.

"At that time the question of abolishing slavery had become very exciting. And although the educated and genteel people did not generally object to his scheme of preaching from house to house to the negroes, yet quite a large number of the lower class were very resolutely opposed, and some even threatened violence, which did not make him hesitate. He, however, did not become excited, but went quietly from house to house preaching to them. I think he had at one time eighteen appointments at different houses.

"He was a man of great firmness and decision of character. At the time when the excitement about his preaching to the negroes at the plantations was at the highest pitch, some half dozen violent men agreed to use violence, if necessary, to stop him, and had actually held a meeting once or twice to devise some plan. Between these meetings Dr. McPheeters, in going to one of his appointments, had to pass near the residence of the leader of this party, who owned a large farm. Riding along the public road, after having gone past the dwelling some distance, he saw a large number of cows destroying the crop. He immediately turned back and rode quite a distance to the house, and calling the man out, told him that he could not go on without letting him know about it. He then went forward. But this leader and those who concerted violence with him were all present that day at the appointed place of preaching. After getting to the meeting, however, the leader told the others the circumstances as they have been related, and then remarked: Gentlemen, a man who could do this will do us no harm, and no man shall do him any harm.' Soon after this Mr. McPheeters became convinced that he could do more good by combining preaching to both races, and the Amelia church being vacant, he accepted an offer to preach for us as an Evangelist. He lived in my house. All of my family became very much devoted to him. Although he now only preached to the negroes in the evenings after preaching to the whites, yet he had great influence with them. He was, even at that early day, one of the most impressive preachers I ever heard. I never shall forget a visit that we made together to East Hanover Presbytery, whose sessions were held at a church called Bethlehem, seventeen miles below Richmond. Presbytery met Thursday. There were a goodly number of distinguished preachers present—Drs. Moore, Hoge, Leyburn, Pryor, and others. Mr. McPheeters at this time had preached but a few sermons to the whites. On Saturday of Presbytery he was asked to preach to a large congregation. I remember an old lady of Dr. Leyburn's congregation, from Petersburg, told me that she had gone to Dr. Leyburn and remonstrated with him for putting up to preach, and that to so large and intelligent a congregation, a young and untried preacher. She said Dr. Leyburn remarked, jocularly: 'Sister, he is said to be a good preacher to negroes and he may surprise you.' The old lady said he had proceeded but a very little way before she almost shouted for joy that they had put him up. I myself can never forget the impression the young preacher made that day on that congregation. After the sermon quite a number went to him and took him by the hand and congratulated him. Among others who did this was a local Methodist preacher named Kidd, and Dr. Carter Branton, a very intelligent man and a leading Elder in the New School Church, who told me, '*We must have your preacher*, because he can unite the Old and New School down here, and he is the only one that can.'

"Mr. McPheeters certainly combined more good qualities than any man I ever knew. He was always agreeable and the life of every company that he entered. But, nevertheless, he always impressed you with his piety. He was also distinguished above all others for his humility. While he lived with me he was flattered enough to have ruined any ordinary man, and yet I could not see that it made any change in him. There was a man in our congregation who thought it would please Mr. McPheeters to be told how great a man he was, but I have heard him speak of that person with disgust. And this is the only one I ever heard him speak of in that way.

"I can remember many little things that he used to do and say which were very interesting to us, but I cannot write them in such a way as to interest the public. In conclusion, I would say that he left a reputation in our community of which any man in the present or past generation might justly be proud. I wish, my dear sir, that I was accustomed to write, so that I might give an interesting account of the early ministry of my dear friend Mr. McPheeters; but hope you will excuse me for sending this disjointed account of what I remember of him."

Two discourses, at the request of friends, have been inserted in the Memoir. The sermon that follows was written in 1849, and rewritten in 1855. It was repeated more frequently than any discourse which Mr. McPheeters ever prepared, having been preached twenty-six times in different regions of the country, from Raleigh, N. C., to Fort Union, in New Mexico. This repetition arose, no doubt, from the fact that fervid and solemn impressions were known, almost invariably, to accompany its delivery:

THE WAY OF TRANSGRESSORS IS HARD.

(Prov. xiii. 15, last clause.)

If the existence of an infinitely wise, holy and almighty Governor of the universe be admitted, and if it be further admitted that He takes any interest in the affairs of men, loving those who obey His commands and feeling any displeasure at those who transgress His laws, we would naturally conclude, without any other evidence, that He would so order things in the dispensation of His providence that while "wisdom's ways should be ways of pleasantness" that the "way of the transgessor should be hard." For it would be a reflection no less upon the goodness than upon the wisdom of God to suppose that He would offer an inducement to transgressors and a reward to sinners by making the ways of disobedience so pleasant as to tempt men to walk in them, contrary to His commands and the order of His government. This conclusion of natural reason is abundantly confirmed by Sacred Scripture and experience. It is true, this world is not the place where sin meets with its full and adequate punishment; hence every act of transgression does not here receive its just recompense of reward. Nay, we are told that God endures with much long suffering even the vessels of wrath fitted for destruction, and that He causes His sun to rise upon the evil and the good and sends His rain upon the just and the unjust. But while this is true, it is at the same time no less true that in the ordinary administration of His providential government He has made the constitution of His creatures and of the external world such that, in the very nature of the case, the "way of transgressors must be hard;" and it is hard because they sin against the nature of things. Every creature of God is good and is to be received, i. e., enjoyed, with thanksgiving; and when they are so received they minister—as God designed they should—to the comfort and happiness of man. The sin of the transgressor is that he refuses so to use them. Instead of giving creature blessings that subordinate place in his affection to which they are entitled, he exalts them into supreme objects of affection; instead of using the world, as not abusing it, he seeks it that he may consume it upon his lusts. This, in the very nature of the case, must produce misery. This idolatrous love of the world must end in blighted hopes and disappointed and ungratified affections, while the immoderate or intemperate use of creature blessings invariably has a tendency to weaken, corrupt and destroy both body and mind. It may be demonstrated that all the laws of nature are the laws of virtue. God has written the law of virtue on every nerve and tissue in the human body, which sin with difficulty erases after many a writhing protest and many a cup of agony from outraged and suffering nature, thus showing that nature herself is arrayed against the transgressor to make his way hard. It is a truth, worthy of especial regard, that there is not a real pleasure of any kind whatever that is peculiar to transgressors which might not be had in the way of obedience. I know that the irreligious think differently. But what real pleasure has the sinner which the saint has not? Does the world lose any of its brightness by being regarded as the gift of a kind and loving Father? True, the Christian is required to deny himself—to take up his cross and follow Christ. But remember that Christian self-denial is not the only self-denial; the transgressors have to deny themselves no less than the people of God. All of the depraved passions and appetites of the soul can not be gratified, for many of them are in direct conflict with others. Covetousness can not be gratified without denying pride and vanity. Ambition feeds upon a host of other appetites and affections. In fact, all of the corrupt desires of men are full of contradictions and inconsistencies, and make the soul that is enslaved by them a Babel of confusion. The love of riches, the love of honor and pleasure, pride, coveteousness, vanity and luxury, jostle and interfere in a thousand various rencounters. They are justly compared by Solomon to the daughters of the horse-leech, ever crying, "*give, give,*" and to the grave that never says, it is enough. So that if the Christian duty of mortifying our corruptions be painful, the sinful effort to satisfy them is absolutely impossible.

The way of the transgressor is hard because he has to forego all the support and comfort and exalted happiness which religion gives in this life.

One of the common delusions which the great adversary practices, especially upon the young and the gay, is to persuade them that religion is a dark and gloomy service, inconsistent with the vivacity of youth, and utterly destructive of the pleasures of this life. Many think religion a hard bargain, by which men agree to be miserable here that they may not be miserable hereafter. Strange delusion! Contradicted alike by Sacred Scripture, by reason, and by experience. Godliness has the promise of the life that now is no less than of that which is to come. And why should it not be so? Is not God the giver and the source of all happiness, temporal as well as eternal? "Every good and perfect gift comes down from the Father of lights." "All our springs are in Him." Well, who are the wicked? Are they not the enemies of God—those with whom He says

He is angry every day? And who are the righteous? Are they not the friends of God—those whom He loved so well as to give His only begotten Son for their redemption! And does God give more happiness to His enemies than to His friends? Nay. Does God so delight in the misery of His children as to arrange a plan of redemption so as to insure the unhappiness of those who embrace its promises? Can even the father of lies impose so monstrous an absurdity upon those whom he leads captive at his will? Let not the irreligious appeal to their own experience to deny the plain teachings of Sacred Scripture and reason? Let not the impenitent think because the serious consideration of religion fills them with so much gloom, and because the duties of religion are so irksome to them that, therefore, religion would make them unhappy. The wicked can not appeal to their experience on this subject, for the simple reason that they have none. That which has made them miserable when they have thought upon this subject is not religion, but the want of it.

Upon the question, what effect religion has in making its possessors happy or unhappy, they absolutely have no experience whatever. If we wish to know what experience teaches, we must ask true Christians, and they, with united testimony say, with David, "I would rather be a doorkeeper in the house of my God than dwell in the tents of wickedness." Oh! there is a high and holy joy in loving and serving God of which the wicked can form no estimate. There is a calm serenity of soul in communing with the Father of spirits which transcends all the pleasures of sense. There is a peace which Jesus speaks to the soul of which the world knows nothing, and there is a hope, which the Christian has as an anchor to the soul, remaining both sure and steadfast amid the wildest storms of life. And the way of the transgressor is hard because he is destitute of these comforts and supports of religion. While the transgressor is in health and strength; while he is surrounded by fortune and by friends; while Providence seems to smile upon his efforts and bless the labor of his hand; while the fig tree blossoms and the fruit is on the vine; while the labor of the olive does not fail and the flock is not cut off from the fold, he may, indeed, not feel his way to be hard. But these things can not always last. No man escapes the sorrows and disappointments which are the common lot of humanity. The day of darkness comes alike upon all. The wife must watch with agony the husband's vain struggle with the king of terrors. The husband must follow the sad procession which bears the object of his cherished affection to the tomb. Parents must look upon the mute suffering of helpless infants and wipe the death damp from the brow of loving children. Oh! there are times to us all when the soul, like Noah's dove, finds the world a waste without a resting place. And what a consolation is it in this midnight of the soul to lift up an eye toward heaven, and see there the sympathizing face of One who has been touched with a feeling of our infirmity, and to hear His heavenly voice saying: "Let not your heart be troubled." "When thou passest through the waters I will be with thee: and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee." "When thou walkest through the fire thou shalt not be burned: neither shall the flames kindle upon thee." But the way of the transgressor is cheered by no such beams from heaven. His only resources are sullen grief, hopeless despair, or a cold and heartless philosophy: and miserable comforters are they all.

2. Again, the way of the transgressor is hard, because he pursues it contrary to his better judgment and feeling and the dictates of an intelligent conscience. Let men say what they will, there is something in the pure and heavenly religion of the Bible which commends it to the enlightened judgment of all men. And I care not what men say or how they live, there is, after all, a profound conviction in the soul that Chistianity is true and good. There is a feeling deep as the consciousness of immortality, that God is the proper aim of the soul. And neither the most thoughtless nor the most reckless can always satisfy themselves that their course is wise, safe and best.

Conscience, too, makes the way of the transgressor hard. He is but a shallow observer who thinks the calm exterior of men is always a sure index to the state within. It is just as true of others as you know it to be of yourself, that they are not as free from anxiety as their external manner seems to imply. Look in at the gay assembly whirling in the giddy mazes of the dance. How many bright and smiling faces! but are all as merry as they seem? Ah! there is many an aching heart there beating beneath a smiling face.

Think you, young man, that your reckless, godless companion is as calm in view of the future as he would have you believe! Could you follow him to his retirement; could you hear the voice that speaks in the sleepless midnight hours, you would find that he often has thoughts and feelings, fears and apprehensions, which make his way hard.

I knew a young man who, at the University, when he graduated, was famous among the infamous for his heaven-daring blasphemy. He has told me since that after having often defied and insulted his Maker before his companions, he has gone into the dark recesses of the wood and, under stripes of conscience, in an agony of terror and remorse, begged God to forgive and spare him. There is not a more mysterious power in the human soul than that faculty which we call conscience. Placed by God in the heart of every accountable being as a witness for himself, it meets the transgressor in his way and warns him of his guilt and danger. Its voice, for a time, may be hushed, but it still speaks. It may be trampled under foot, but it rises and follows and warns. A long and determined effort may seem to conquer and destroy it; but it never dies. Unseen, and with sword unsheathed, it hovers over the transgressor's way and bides its time. And when the command comes, it smites with the sword of Gideon and of God.

Again, the way of the transgressor is hard, because it is progressive from bad to worse. It is one of the fearful retributions of God's vindictive justice that he frequently gives transgressors up to their own hearts' lusts, and makes sin the punishment of sin. And no man beginning the way of the transgressor can possibly tell how far and how rapidly he may be hurried to an end from which he would now draw back with horror. There is a progression in sin. The downward road is an inclined plane, which men often descend with fearfully accelerated velocity. It is true, God does not permit every transgressor to run the full course upon which he sets out. He restrains the remainder of wrath that would not praise him. But he does not restrain all. He permits many, very many, to drink to the very dregs the cup of wickedness which they mix. And God has promised no one beginning the way of transgression that he will restrain him. Every one has to make the experiment for himself—whether he shall go on and become one of the monuments set up along the path of ruin to warn others that the way of the transgressor is hard. I know that vanity and self-love inspire a false confidence that it will not be so with us. The heart is deceitful above all things as well as desperately wicked. When Hazael, servant, of Benhadad King of Syria, came to inquire of the Prophet Elisha of a certain matter, we are told that the prophet looked upon him and wept. Hazael asked him the cause of his sorrow. Elisha recounts the deeds of horror which he foresees Hazael would commit. The recital fills Hazael with indignation and surprise; and, turning to the prophet he said, "Is thy servant a dog to do this great thing?" The man of God, with vision lighted by the Almighty, simply replied: "The Lord has shown me that thou art to be the King of Syria." His circumstances were to be changed. The intermediate steps of treachery and bloodshed which were to bring him to the throne were to be passed through. New motives of ambition and avarice and revenge were to be brought to bear upon him, and then Hazael, King of Syria, would be prepared to do that at which this Hazael, servant of Benhadad, shuddered to think. It is a hazardous enterprise leaping half way down a precipice. And this is what the transgressor attempts, and in his heart believes he can do it with safety.

Look at that poor wretch in the street wallowing in filth and drunkenness, filling the air with stench and blasphemy, from whose bloated and besotted face the last vestige of the image of His Creator is wiped. He did not come there in a day. He was not always what you now see him. He was once a smiling infant upon a fond mother's lap—the joy of her heart, the hope of her declining years. He was once a light-hearted, joyous boy. He was once a promising young man. With companions as gay and as thoughtless as himself he commenced walking in the way of transgressors. That way seemed strewn with friends and radiant with hope. He dreamed not of danger. He laughed at the voice of wisdom and the teachings of experience. He said: "Rejoice, O young man, in thy youth! and let thy heart cheer thee in the days of thy youth, and walk in the ways of thine heart and in the sight of thine eyes, forgetting that for all these things God would bring him into judgment. He looked upon the wine when it was red, when it gave its color to the cup, when it moved itself aright, forgetting that at last it biteth like a serpent and stingeth like an adder. He listens to the voice of the strange woman, even to the stranger who flattereth with her lips, and he went with her as the ox goeth to the slaughter and the fool to the correction of the stocks, forgetting that her house is the way to hell, going down to the chambers of death. Ah! little did he think when he set out that he was entering the labyrinth whose dreary mazes only find an outlet in the bottomless pit. And yet every step was natural and easy. Link by link the tyrant Habit bound him with unsuspected chains. Appetite silently gained the mastery over reason and conscience. One kind of dissipation led to another. Dissipation produced extravagance. Extravagance brought poverty and want. Then came a sense of degradation and crime. On, on, he went in his fearful career, seeking a lower, and yet a lower depth! And there he lies, a moral wreck, hateful and hating—a burthen to himself and a nuisance to society, without friends, without character, without hope, either for this life or that which is to come. The way of the transgressor is hard.

But I admit that every transgressor does not run such a course. There are ways of sin which are not such ways of degradation. There are paths of ruin which are decent, and, in the common acceptation, honorable. There are those whom the Sacred Scriptures call transgressors who are in their lives amiable, gentle and refined. But whatever be the way of the transgressor, it is still hard—hard, because every such way leads to a direct and fearful contest with an Almighty Being. God is the sovereign, absolute and rightful governor of the universe, having a right from his very nature to give laws, which are, and should be, binding on all of his creatures. He has established a government—a government which he must and will maintain. Against this government every transgressor is in the sight of man and angels in defiant resistance. God's authority he has set at naught, and God's laws he has trampled under his feet. Disguise it as he may, he has set up the standard of revolt, and every step brings him nearer to the time when the contest is to be decided. And the way that leads to such a contest is a hard way, for let the potsherds of earth contend with the potsherds; but woe be to him who contendeth with his Maker! Oh! what shall the puny arm of flesh do when it meets an angry God in his almightiness. Yes, God has set himself over against the way of the transgressor, and pledged his word and his omnipotence for his destruction. "See now," says He, "it is I, even I, and no stranger." "God is with me. I kill and I make alive. I wound and I heal. Neither is there any that can deliver out of my hand. For I lift my hand to heaven and say, I live forever. If I whet my glittering sword, and mine hand take hold on vengeance, I will render vengeance to mine enemies, and will reward them that hate me." The temporary prosperity of sinners should not deceive them. It is but a prelude to their misery. The sunshine in which they rejoice is but ripening them for destruction. I have seen, says the Psalmist, the wicked in great power, and spreading himself like a green bay tree. Yet he passed away, and lo! he was not; yea, I sought for him, but he could not be found. Therefore, although pride compasseth him like a garment, and his eyes stand out with fatness, and he has more than heart can wish, yet surely he is set in slippery places; in due time his feet shall slide. And because God has thus set himself in the way of the transgressor, it is a hard way, for 'tis a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God.

Again, the way of the transgressor is hard, because it leads to final, hopeless and everlasting ruin. Suppose, as is not true, that the wicked in this life enjoyed all the happiness of which their nature is susceptible; suppose that every wish of their hearts was gratified, every hope realized; nay, suppose their way lay through a garden as beautiful and fragrant as Eden, and at last terminated in everlasting despair, would it not still be a hard way? The Sacred Scriptures speak distinctly and solemnly of the *end* to which the way of the transgressor leads. Men may, if they choose, deny it, and try to explain it away. But there it is as the mouth of the Lord has uttered it. There may be figurative language used; but these figures mean something. God is no trifler. He plays no paltry tricks upon His creatures. He said to Adam, in the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt die. A lost paradise, a cursed earth, and the sickness, sorrows, tears, lamentations and woes of six thousand years have proved that He meant what He said. Ah! it has come to pass, as we see this day. And so will the threatenings which He has made about the second death. Then all the dreadful figures, if figures they be, by which the sufferings of the finally impenitent are shadowed forth, will be found to be dreadful realities. What definitely will constitute the sufferings of the enemies of God I do not pretend to know, and I shall not draw upon imagination for a picture of that land of darkness, death and long despair. But this I know, when the transgressor shall hear the sentence which shall banish him from God and all good beings; when the light of eternity shall fall upon the tablet of memory, and bring out in distinct and legible characters the sins and guilt and folly of a misspent life; when the sleeping conscience shall awake to sleep no more, and point to time misspent, talents unimproved, and fair occasion passed forever by; when the poor, undone soul shall remember gospel-calls slighted, gospel-offers rejected, and gospel salvation lost forever; when in the terror and dismay of that dread hour, the poor sinner shall cast an eye back and find no help, and forward and see no end; when he shall lift it upward, and in anguish say,

> Farewell, ye happy fields,
> Where joy forever dwells. Hail, horrors, hail!
> Infernal world! And thou, profoundest hell,
> Receive thy new possessor!

He will then know, as God in His mercy grant that none of us may ever know, that the way of the transgressor is hard.

Lastly, the way of the transgressor is hard because he has to make his way down to hell over many bleeding hearts that love him and by the very cross of that Savior who died for sinners. O, there are strong and tender ties of kindness and affection drawing transgressors toward heaven! Do what he will, the godless husband sometimes feels a rebuke for his sins in the unobtrusive and earnest piety of his wife which he can not resist, and he feels that the way is hard that must part him from her forever. The heedless young man sometimes remembers the sunny days of childhood, when his gentle, loving mother put his little hands in hers and taught him to say, "Our Father which art in heaven," and then took him in her lap and with swimming eyes and solemn words told him of that Heavenly Father's love. And oh! the memory of childhood and home and mother, all make him feel that his way is hard. Nor is this all. There is yet another obstacle to be overcome. Right in the path of the transgressor God in his mercy has placed the cross of Christ. When every other restraint is broken through, when every other barrier is overleaped, this mightiest and strongest obstruction on the way to ruin has to be surmounted. As the transgressor pursues his ruinous way his eye catches sight of One hanging on the cross in agony and blood. It is the Son of God making an atonement for a guilty world. As he draws near he sees His eye fixed upon him, and he hears His voice in melting, pitying, dying love calling upon him to stop and not trample on the blood of atonement. And oh! it is hard to wade through. It is hard for one whose bosom heaves with one generous emotion not to feel the influence of redeeming love, not to heed the call of pardoning mercy, not to yield to the pleadings of Calvary. Blessed Savior! how can men thus reject and despise Thee, spurn Thy offered mercy and plunge into endless ruin! Surely the way to ruin must be hard when it leads by the cross of Christ.

Dear, dying, impenitent hearer, what can I say more? You see your way is dark and leads to hell; why will you persevere? "Turn ye, turn ye; why will you die?" Oh! think of these things. Take not another step in that fearful way. It may be your ruin. "I entreat you by that compassion that looked down from the height of the sanctuary to hear the groaning of the prisoners and to loose those that were appointed unto death. I beseech you by that love that bled on Calvary, by that patience which has called after you from your childhood. I warn you by all the dreadful weight of your guilt, by the terrors of a dying bed, by the solemnities of the last judgment. In the name and by the authority of the Eternal God, I charge you not to make your bed in hell."

Rev. B. M. Hobson says:

"My acquaintance with Dr. McPheeters began with young Mr. McPheeters at the University of North Carolina, when

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he came to matriculate, as I was about to leave college. He was then a very young man, of pleasing *personnel*, and, judging from a little observation and the eagerness with which his company was sought by young gentlemen from the Capital of the State, I concluded that he must be a young man of extraordinary vivacity and piquancy of conversation. His associations embraced a few whom I knew, and from them I learned that he was greatly beloved by all the youth about Raleigh. There was then a buoyancy about him that was not the result of attrition. It was the incessant bubbling of his own good nature that lost sight of itself in the superior enjoyment of imparting happiness to others. The young discovered by a sort of intuition that he was unselfish and genial in his nature, and they all came to him as if all knew him to be their friend. He maintained this character all his life, and it was the great secret of those warm friendships that cheered him in the eventful anxieties beneath which his health at last failed and the man of God fell.

"Years pass away, and his career as a minister of Christ begins. His first call to become a pastor is from the Church in Amelia county, Virginia, where I had been his predecessor. Here his lot is cast among a cultured and generous people, who would receive a young man of his character with open hearts and open arms. He was probably never happier than in association with that people, nor could they have been happier in a pastor. Mutual confidence was characteristic of that pastorate for many years. As is ordinarily the case, some of the people and their former pastor kept up a correspondence, in which frequent reference is made to the young pastor. Their enthusiastic admiration and love were obvious in all their allusions to him and his work. He might have been more useful elsewhere, but never more beloved.

"When he made a visit to St. Louis he passed through Louisville and spent several days with me. There was a warm greeting when we met. 'I have not felt at home before since I left Virginia,' and at once resigned himself to the luxury of a conversation about his old pastoral charge, deeply interesting to us both. I felt great comfort in his society and had much anxiety to hear him preach. When the Sabbath came, he preached in the morning and at night. In the first sermon he did not appear at ease. The matter was good, and the style and arrangement were lucid and excellent, but there was lacking the unction to give it power. He afterward appeared depressed, and on our way to my study he very deliberately remarked, 'You must preach to-night; I can not.' I gave him some words of encouragement, and told him it was clear that preaching was in him and he must let it out. The conclusion was soon reached, that he was to preach at night. From the time we entered the pulpit in the second service there was an ease and naturalness in conducting the exercises which gave assurance that he felt at home. And when he arose to preach he had uttered but few sentences before the attention of the congregation was riveted to the speaker. He continued in a strain of elevated thought and animated delivery to the end of the discourse. The truth gushed from his lips in a torrent. He was argumentative and convincing, instructive and emotional. He made no platitudes but cut his nearest way to the thought, and evolved another and another in such rapid succession that it excited the mind of the hearer lest something might be lost. It was this feature in his discourses that caused that breathless stillness in the congregation that I have heard so frequently attended his ministrations and made them so solemn and imposing. He was from that hour installed in my heart as one of the sweetest gospel preachers I had ever heard, whose prospect of usefulness was unsurpassed.

"Such was he in the earlier part of his ministry. He was eminently attractive. Obviously the young would seek so captivating a ministry, and his career in a large city might have been brilliant. With strength less than he possessed, it would have been easy for one to have become a star preacher, and afterward to have reached the reward of mortification and obscurity. He could have maintained the interest with which he began. But with no perceptible violence he gradually glided into a change more consistent with the idea of permanent relations. The diversion which he accomplished was the clearest evidence of the excellency of his judgment. He saw the dangers before him—to which some are insensible—and he avoided them. Years afterward, when I heard him in his own pulpit, his manner was calm and impressive. His sermon was filled with thought that was good, rich and scriptural, which he sought to lay heavily upon the heart of the Church—distinctly enough to be seen and weighty enough to be felt. But few men could have sustained such a change in his pulpit manner and yet have appeared to advantage. It is, however, but justice to him to say that the change only added to the merit of his ministry and took nothing from its real efficiency.

"There were other things that passed in those few days which were socially and personally so characteristic of the man that, though it be difficult, I will try to reproduce here. He spoke of leaving his home and well nigh all earthly ties to go into a large city and there engage in a work whose issue was uncertain, and how inexpressibly sad these reflections had made him; that he had felt them all the journey as he came, and that his state of sadness had been obvious even to strangers. When he got into the stage to cross the Virginia mountains, there were two ladies and a gentleman who were constantly making themselves merry at his woe-begone expression of face; and suspecting that he was a clergyman, mistook his silence for an assumption of extreme sanctity. They would say that such a thing was as dull as a clergyman, another was as prosy as a sermon, and something else was too holy for this world. He said that in his unhappy frame of mind every shot told. He had not spoken a word for hours and only desired to be quiet, which one of these young ladies, by her frequent sallies of wit, most persistently interrupted. At last he could stand it no longer, and began to look around as if he were sentient. The young lady called attention to that early blooming peach-tree, and how beautiful it looked. The tree was on his side of the stage, and he answered, 'Yes, it is beautiful, but, like a great many pretty girls, too forward for luck.' After that he got on tolerably well.

"He stopped at a little town on the Ohio river to spend the Sabbath. It was a silent Sabbath, without any church or place of preaching, and he could see no means of gathering a congregation together. Finding that it would be a solitary day, he spent much of it in his room; but after awhile came into the reception room, where he saw a basket of books and an old man sitting by, who proved to be the colporteur. He went to the books, and while looking over them the old gentleman drew near and said, if he chose he could read one of the books that day and on to-morrow he would sell him one if he thought proper to buy, but that he did not sell on the Sabbath. He said to the colporteur that there were a great many books not worth buying, and that all his books were religious, a subject which he did not think he understood, and that a great many people did not think much of such books any way. The old man spoke to him of the importance of the subject of which they treated, and asked him to take one and read it. But he declined the offer, saying that he was afraid he would not understand the subject any better, and that his mind might become more confused than it was already; that he did not believe in books as much as some people, and that he believed in thinking more and reading less. The old gentleman began to talk to him with much earnestness about yielding to the influence of irreligion and not examining the Scriptures for himself; pressed upon him most earnestly the necessity of piety in a young man who was thrown so much into temptation, and exhorted him to put his trust in the Savior as the best security for this and the world to come. He said as the old man waxed warmer he became more attentive, which being observed by his old friend, he proceeded to press the obligation of personal religion upon him with great fervency and force. He would sometimes point out a difficulty or make a show of opposition, to see how the old colporteur would manage the case, and admired the ease with which the old man could speak, even on subjects requiring thought and learning. 'Well,' said he, 'when I retired to my room I felt greatly refreshed, as much as if I had heard a right good sermon.' The good old man never suspected who his respectful hearer was. He enjoyed a singular pleasure in detailing this whole scene, and much more minutely than is here attempted, inferring the wonderful nature of divine truth as adapted to call out the powers of every grade of capacity and with arguments suited to move the highest and to move the lowest. No doubt other and similar events occurred in his life, for he seems to have had a great fondness for adventures of such a nature.

"There never was a man of mark in whose presence one felt more disembarrassed. His impress was that of a good and generous nature united with simplicity itself; not a simplicity condescending to littleness, but always blended with sound sense and elevated thought cast in the mould of the Spirit. In these respects no man more truly and habitually hid himself behind his Master, and to an extent greater than many of his intimate friends discerned. He did not get out of the sphere of the ministry when he might have lawfully gathered a laurel from the walks of literature and science. He had a good knowledge of architecture, and on the request of some public institution in St. Lous that he should lecture for them, I earnestly persuaded him to accept the invitation, on the ground not only of his knowledge of that interesting science, but because of its utility to a large and rapidly growing city where, up to that time, there had been but few displays of architectural taste. He, however, declined, and, judging from his letters, because it did not fall within his sphere as a minister of Christ. This jealousy of spirit, repressing publicity and notoriety, was a beautiful reproduction of Him who was 'meek and lowly in heart,' who permitted the disciples to show Him the beauties of the temple only to open the way for uttering the sublime truths of his mission.

"Nor was it a violent counterpart to this character that he could detect the assuming and the selfish, who must be seen and heard on all occasions. At such people he might choose to laugh in his good nature, but if persistent in their inordinate specialty he could administer a sub-acid which easily abated the nuisance. In this way he has sometimes refreshed a little company of friends and sometimes a judicatory of the Church.

"When a good man finishes his course, there is a hallowed satisfaction in thinking over all that he was in himself and all that he was to the Church. There was nothing to detract from this satisfaction in all the history of Mr. McPheeters. If there was anything over which one might feel oppressed and turn aside to weep, it was over that intense suffering borne for so many years with so much cheerfulness and laden with such rich fruits of labor and love. Every sermon that he preached from that couch of suffering sounded like a miracle wrought by the Son of God, and to all that heard him was an appeal more touching than if Jesus had said, 'Arise! take up thy bed and walk.' Blessed be God for such grace, by which 'he being dead yet speaketh.'"

CHAPTER VI.

REMOVAL TO ST. LOUIS—PEACEFUL YEARS—VISIT TO NEW MEXICO—PROSPECT OF WAR—PASTORAL LETTER.

For five years Mr. McPheeters labored in Nottoway and Amelia. His ministry was greatly blessed. The tenderness, simplicity, cordiality and genuineness of the man won all hearts. The people of every class, white and colored, preferred him in the pulpit and out of it to any other preacher. But at the very moment when his popularity was at its height, a call, altogether unsolicited, came to him from St. Louis. The mind of the young minister was exercised profoundly. True, in a rural district his labors had been pre-eminently successful, but it remained to be seen whether the talents which satisfied and even delighted a quiet Virginia congregation would meet the demands ot a flock situated in the bosom of a great commercial city. In such a crisis ministers do not always determine wisely; for not a few, in prospect of prominence, have separated from an humble but appreciative flock to ascertain afterward, in failure, mortification and sorrow, the rashness and folly of the step. In the ministry, positions which are gained by diplomacy do not ordinarily yield satisfactory fruits. There was no period of his ministerial life in which Mr. McPheeters did not realize the truth of this position in an extraordinary degree. In every settlement he waited on the Lord, and, as a consequence, his ways were always well ordered. His friends were as numerous in Missouri as they had been in Virginia; he was as successful in Pine street as he had been in Nottoway or Amelia. The opinion here expressed is fully confirmed by Dr. Brookes, who says:

"In February, 1851, Rev. S. B. McPheeters, then preaching at Amelia Court House, Virginia, received a pastoral call to the Westminster Presbyterian Church of St. Louis. It consisted of a few members gathered principally from the Second Presbyterian Church, who were willing, for the sake of extending the Redeemer's kingdom in a rapidly growing city, to endure the trials incident to such enterprises as they are, usually, inaugurated. They had previously enjoyed for a short time the ministrations of Rev. H. P. Goodrich, D. D., now deceased, and Rev. James A. Lyon, D. D., the well known pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Columbus, Mississippi.

"Mr. McPheeters did not at first accept the call, but with characteristic delicacy returned it after his visit to the Church, that those who had invited him unheard might be left unembarrassed in any action they might be disposed to take as the result of personal acquaintance. It was cordially and unanimously renewed, and he then recognized the will of God directing him to this new and important sphere of ministerial labor.

"In May following he was married to Miss Eliza C., daughter of Col. John Shanks, a prominent and influential citizen of Fincastle, Virginia, and in June of the same year removed with his youthful bride to St. Louis, where the next ten years of his life were passed amid constantly increasing evidences of his usefulness, and constantly repeated tokens of mutual affection between himself and the people whom he so faithfully served as an ambassador for Christ.

"In December, 1853, his congregation was greatly strengthened by uniting with the Pine Street Church, that had been in connection with the New School General Assembly. It is a striking proof of the high estimation in which he was held that the Church just named proposed the union, and insisted that he should be retained as pastor. From this time the united body assembled for worship in a building on the corner of Pine and Eleventh streets, and hence was called the Pine Street Church, while the house in which the Westminster Church had met fell into other hands.

"Another significant indication of the warm regard which was entertained for him by those who were not connected with his congregation is shown in a remark made to the writer, by Hon. Hamilton R. Gamble, who was the leading Ruling Elder of the Second Presbyterian Church, and who stood in the front rank of the wise and faithful disciples of our Lord. He frequently said that when Rev. N. L. Rice, D. D., resigned the pastoral care of that Church he would have nominated and pressed the claims of Mr. McPheeters as his successor if he had not felt that it was wrong to disturb the peace and interrupt the prosperity of the Pine Street Church. Such a declaration from such a man was worth half a dozen ordinary pastoral calls, as denoting the deep impression produced by the preaching, and especially by the life of one who seemed to win his way without effort to every heart.

"In June, 1859, still another expression of the respect for his ability and fidelity which he easily commanded was given by the Curators of Westminster College, who unanimously conferred upon him the title of Doctor of Divinity; and although he was a man of too much good sense and fervent piety to care for the empty honor, that is of more than doubtful propriety when bestowed on the ministers of the despised and rejected Jesus, he did not wish to attract public attention by ostentatiously declining it. He, therefore, suffered it to pass unnoticed as one of the petty annoyances to which he was necessarily exposed, while duly appreciating it as the utterance of a kindly feeling on the part of brethren with whom he was intimately associated in the cause of their common Master.

"If any are led to suppose from what has been said that he shaped his ministry to gain popular applause, or that he gave an uncertain sound touching Christian doctrine and duty, they are entirely mistaken. He thoroughly despised the clap-trap sermons that have rendered so many pulpits famous, or rather infamous, and no one could be more bold and explicit in stating the great truths of the sacred Scriptures, or in pressing upon his hearers the high claims of God. A minister of some distinction in Missouri once said of him that he spoke as a dying man to dying men, and always delivered his message as if he felt that it was his last opportunity for addressing his hearers. This conducts us to view him first for a moment as a

PREACHER.

"There was nothing in his theme, diction or delivery to attract the common crowd; but those who habitually heard him were always instructed and profited, if they attended to his a mirable expositions of the Word of God. He constantly brought into the sanctuary 'pure oil beaten for the light,' and his discourses were generally prepared with unusual care. Even his Wednesday evening lectures, though delivered to a small number, were frequently written in full, and given to the faithful few who attended only after days of diligent study and devout meditation. He was a laborious searcher for truth, and when he discovered her radiant form, as portrayed by the pen of inspiration, his countenance beamed with her reflected glory and his delicate frame was tremulous with emotions of delight. Hence intense and self-forgetful earnestness marked his manner in the pulpit, as he hurried forward with singleness of aim, not to excite temporary feeling, but to produce profound conviction; not to dazzle by the splendors of rhetoric, but to impress by the majesty of the divine Word. Gentle and forbearing as he was toward those who held the essential doctrines of grace, but differed from him on minor points of belief, he had no patience with others, who, in the garb of Christianity, assailed the fundamental articles of the Christian faith. When, for example, he was called to defend the divinity of our Lord, his eye would blaze and his voice ring like a trumpet in denouncing the monstrous and soul-destroying heresy of Unitarianism, that would pluck the crown from the brow of God's eternal Son and rob the poor sinner of an atonement. 'An emasculated gospel,' he was in the habit of terming it, and he resented the insult it gave to his Savior far sooner than the greatest indignity offered to himself. The same conscientiousness and fidelity in the discharge of duty that distinguished him as a preacher were ever exhibited in his work as a

PASTOR.

"Here, indeed, was his crowning excellence, for he was fitted by nature as well as by grace to mingle in the most endeared intimacy with the members of his flock. His sympathies were so tender and so large that they entwined themselves easily and gracefully about all who were brought under his care. He literally and readily obeyed the injunction of the Holy Ghost, 'Rejoice with them that do rejoice, and weep with them that weep.' The people to whom he ministered, however various their circumstances, were sure to find in him a true friend and a wise counselor who was equal to any emergency. Possessing the finest instincts of a gentleman and the highest qualities of a Christian, yearning for social intercourse rather than driven to it by the stern behest of duty, unselfish, singularly free from the gloom of moody hours that harass those who are summoned to a perpetual struggle with a fiercer temperament, giving way to a smile or a tear at the bidding of his own generous impulses, and yet remarkably cool and deliberate in expressing an opinion, it is hard to conceive of one better endowed for the delicate and often difficult labors belonging to the pastoral office. It is not strange that those to whom he sustained this sacred relation cherish his memory with affectionate reverence: it would be passing strange could they ever forget him. But the gifts which shone in him so conspicuously as a preacher and pastor were equally manifest when he appeared in the

CHURCH JUDICATORIES.

"He was never absent from these meetings, unless providentially detained; and as he had made himself thoroughly familiar with the Form of Government and Book of Discipline, he was justly considered a most valuable member of the Presbytery and Synod. Few men of his age understood more clearly the great principles on which the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church securely rests, and none have endured more heroically manifold sufferings in defense of these principles that have been so grievously outraged during the past ten years. In the discussions that arose during the sessions of our ecclesiastical bodies he was never known to contend merely for victory, and he never resorted to the tricks of the politicians to carry his point. He was as far removed as any man from self-seeking in his aims, and in this, as well as in his courteous manner and genial disposition, lay the charm that won the affections and confidence of his brethren. He would state his views in a brief, pleasant way, and if they did not meet the approval of the majority, he would accept defeat without the slightest exhibition of annoyance. But his opinions were usually regarded as sound and satisfactory, and he seldom had to regret their rejection. On one occasion he was Moderator of the Presbytery of St. Louis during a painful and protracted trial of a minister for immorality, and his rulings in every instance were acquiesced in by the prosecutor, the defendant and the entire Court. Passing from these more public scenes, it only remains to glance at him in his

FAMILY

His wife was admirably fitted to be his companion, for beside the ardent devotion of her love, she watched his health with unwearying care, and helped him to bear his burdens in a thousand ways that only womanly affection and intuition can suggest. Four children were given to them, two sons and two daughters, and, perhaps, there was no happier household anywhere. The brightness which glowed in his face when he was the center of attraction in the social circle did not change to a frown in his home, but he carried with him the same pleasantry and playfulness and sweet simplicity that made him a universal favorite. His manner toward those who were dearest to his heart was never stern and forbidding, but he quietly maintained his authority while treating the youngest of them with the familiarity of an equal. He earnestly sought to bring up his little ones in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, and to furnish them a practical example of the blessedness which faith in Christ can impart and which this poor world can neither give nor take away. As the result of his faithful training, assisted by his faithful wife, they did not grieve him in their advancing years by their disobedience and waywardness, but all who enjoyed the high privilege of visiting his delightful home at Mulberry were touched by the tender and thoughtful attention of his boys bearing their helpless father on his couch, and by the gentle eagerness of his little girls to promote his comfort.

"The last time the writer saw him he was stretched on that couch from which he had preached with such marvelous power 'the glorious Gospel of the blessed God.' Not only the calmness of perfect resignation, but the light of a heavenly joy encircled his head like a halo and caused his friends to gaze upon him with unutterable love. He did not seem to be sick, and he was far removed from sorrow. The innocent humor that was as natural and necessary to him as breathing came welling up to his lips and sparkling in his eye as of old. Not a word of bitterness or complaint against those who had so cruelly persecuted him was uttered by the meek sufferer, and in the shadow of his precious grave indignation gives way to sadness, while faith views him in the presence of Jesus and rejoices to know that 'there the wicked cease from troubling, and there the weary be at rest.'"

The most eventful period in the life of Dr. McPheeters has now been approached; and while the facts of the past must be faithfully reported, yet the method of their disclosure should indicate, by all means, a spirit not only guileless, but dignified and calm. For certainly the biography of a man remarkable for gentleness, goodness, meekness and faith, ought not to be made the vehicle of bitterness and partisan rage. The truth is not dependent upon abuse. The records of history are more effective when the story which they tell is divested, in every part, of hypocrisy and partiality. While, therefore, the South cherishes the witnesses for the truth that exist in her own bosom, she can afford to admit freely that in other sections of the land there are men and women not a few who have obtained like "precious faith." This much, in the start, should be candidly and gratefully confessed. Magnanimity is best, for malevolence and bigotry bring confusion in the end. And yet it can not be denied that excellent medicine, the surgeon's probe, the truth itself, often give pain, simply because unusual sensibility belongs to parts that are diseased. Nevertheless, wise men seek to know their infirmities, whether of body or mind, and the antidote is accepted, even where pain and inconvenience are the irreversible results. If, then, after all, the narrative that follows savors of severity, let it be remembered that the testimony has been rehearsed in the language of the witnesses, and the record itself, unaltered, tells the whole story.

In the summer of 1860 the health of the over-taxed pastor required rest and recreation. Arrangements were accordingly made, and Dr. McPheeters, taking his entire household, set out for the plains. The journey, in slow stages, was extended from point to point until the family reached New Mexico. A chaplain's commission having been procured beforehand from the United States Government, he began, without delay, to preach to the soldiers. He also taught the children of the military officers. It was during this stay at Fort Union that Dr. McPheeters calculated, altogether for amusement, the simplest and most comprehensive interest table to be found in existence. The manuscript of this production is in the hands of his sons, and it is to be hoped that some enterprising publisher will bring it to the light. In reference to Dr. McPheeters' partiality for figures, the Rev. Robert Morrison observes:

"There were seasons in his last days when the only way, for the time, to forget bodily pain he found to be in solving difficult mathematical problems. Especially was he pleased with hard algebraic questions. Near by him were the works of different authors on this subject, all of which he had carefully examined and mastered. He eagerly asked me if I could gratify him by mentioning any knotty algebraic problem. I told him I thought I could. I wrote out for him a question that a teacher of considerable eminence and experience worked at for twelve months ere he solved it. Dr. McPheeters was delighted at the prospect of something that seemed really difficult. He worked day and night on the question alluded to, and at the end of two weeks obtained the solution. While suffering thus, his active mind sought out and discovered relations of numbers not mentioned in any one of our arithmetics or algebras."

The pastor remained at Fort Union until the spring of 1861, when the news of the terrible conflict in the States was borne across the plains. These war tidings produced a profound and depressing effect upon the mind of Dr. McPheeters; for he was no Secessionist, but, like the lamented and gifted Thornwell, of South Carolina, clung to the union of the States with honest pride and unaffected devotion. And as a citizen he was not slow to express the most intense horror at the prospect of national disruption and the dreadful carnage which must inevitably ensue. Moreover, when there were rumors of an intended attempt on the part of the Confederates to capture the Fort, although a Southerner by birth and in all his personal sympathies, he declared, "though the United States Government did not commission me to fight, but to preach the Gospel, yet should this Fort be attacked I shall be one of its defenders." He also exerted decisive influence on the officers who, under the strong temptation of sectional sympathy, appeared to waver in their fealty. "As a citizen," he said, "I hold it to be a most important and indispensable part of my duty to God to obey the law, to submit to the authorities, to pray for them, to render them the honor due their several stations, and to promote peace and quietness. These things, I solemnly declare, I have habitually aimed to do."

In addition to these declarations, Dr. McPheeters, on May 14, 1861, wrote a pastoral letter from Fort Union, New Mexico, to his congregation in St. Louis, in which the pastor carefully defines his position and entreats his beloved charge to preserve, even in troublous times, "the unity of the spirit in the bonds of peace." That communication is addressed "to the Elders, Deacons and members ot Pine Street Church," and is as follows:

Dear Christian Brethren: It is to me a subject of continual gratitude and thanksgiving to God to hear, as I so frequently have, of your continued prosperity and harmony. As far as I know or have heard, "no root of bitterness has yet sprung up to trouble you." I rejoice, too, in the evidence you have had of the presence and power of the Holy Spirit in bringing so large a number to receive and rest upon Christ for salvation. But while these and many other things have made me to rejoice, there is one thing that has filled me with the deepest sorrow. I allude to the political condition of the country. As from time to time intelligence has reached this place from the States, my heart has been filled with sadness and gloom beyond the power of words to express. For a time I did hope that a merciful and long-suffering God would in His providence interpose and shield the country from civil war and its necessary horrors. The latest news, however, leaves no doubt upon my mind that the Divine Arm is bare to smite our land with His terrible but righteous judgment. I think it sure before this communication will reach you that a civil war will be begun, the end and results of which no human foresight can predict. It has been to me a matter of the greatest regret, that at such a time I should, in the providence of God, be separated from you; but as this has been ordered by Him who orders all things well, I have neither murmured nor repined. I am now exerting myself to return as soon as circumstances will permit; and yet such are the circumstances that surround me and the difficulties of the journey, growing out of the confusion and uncertainty of things in the States, that I can not say with any certainty when I may expect to have the pleasure of seeing you once more face to face. Yet I have a hope that, if arrangements I have made or tried to make do not miscarry, it will not be later than the middle of July. In this, however, I may be disappointed, and I can only say that it is my purpose to return at the earliest practicable time. In these circumstances I feel an irresistible inclination to address you a pastoral letter upon some points which it seems to me important to bring distinctly before your minds at such a time as this.

With the purely civil and political questions which now shake the country to its centre I do not feel called upon, either as your pastor or as a minister of Christ, to speak. I am rejoiced that my duty as well as my inclination lead me into a higher, purer and better sphere than this. No, dear brethren, I wish to address you not as a friend or advocate of any party or section, but as an ambassador of One whose "kingdom is not of this world." So far from wishing to swell with my voice the din of words uttered by any section or party, I wish to say something about your duties to Christ and His kingdom—something about the obligations and dangers which belong to you as Christians living in the circumstances which now surround you.

It is evident, upon the slightest reflection, to one acquainted with the history and present condition of our city and its inhabitants, that the Churches in St. Louis are exposed to peculiar dangers. One of these, and the most obvious and alarming, is that of being rent by discord and strife among its members. I am rejoiced to say that up to this time I have not in any way heard even a hint that such a state of things exists or is likely to occur. Without exception, all the information that has reached me has been of a very different character; still, knowing as I do the diversity of sentiment that exists in the city upon the agitating questions of the day, I can not doubt that the same diversity exists in the Churches. It is manifest, too, from every public print, that late events have intensified, in the highest degree, the feelings of all parties. The passions of the whole country are thoroughly aroused. I see nothing that is likely to allay these feelings, but much that will, I think, beyond question, greatly excite them. The members of the Church are thrown together in social intercourse, in business relations, and in meetings for devotion, and who need be told that in such circumstances there is the utmost danger of angry and bitter discussions arising, which, even from small beginnings may extend to numbers, and result in parties and divisions in the Church. Nay, there is even danger that in your social meetings, and in the solemn act of prayer, some one may forget that, in that act, he is called upon to be the mouthpiece of the congregation, to express the common desires and wishes of his Christian brethren, and in prayer itself he may so present his own private and party views as deeply to wound and offend those who differ from him.

What, however, I wish to do is not to attempt to tell how the evil may arise, but to call your attention to the danger to which the times expose the Church. But how, it may be asked, shall such a state of things be prevented? It is certainly not to be expected that political matters so momentous as these which now engross all minds will not be discussed. Nor is it to be expected that those who look at the same events with different feelings, and from fundamentally different standpoints are likely to agree in the conclusions which they reach. It must, moreover, be admitted, that as between man and man, one has as good a right to his opinion as another; and it must be further admitted that men may differ upon such matters after having made, as they believe, an honest examination of the questions involved. How, then, is the danger to be avoided? The obvious answer is, by all the members of the Church being conscientiously guarded in what they say—by the exercise of charity, and by a spirit of prayer. My dear brethren, at such a time as this the sins of the tongue (at all times a fruitful source of sin) are likely to be pre-eminently the sins of Christians. It is so easy, so natural for men excited and irritated to say words of bitterness and wrath that few can resist the temptation. And very many who profess to be Christians practically say, in the very words of the wicked, "our lips are our own; who is Lord over us?" Yet what saith the Scriptures? "If any man among you seemeth to be religious and bridleth not his tongue, but deceiveth his own heart, this man's religion is vain." If Christians allow themselves to indulge in all the vindictive and abusive language used by avowedly irreligious men, where is the evidence of subjection to Christ—of a heart renewed after His image? Therefore, beloved brethren, "let your speech be always with grace, seasoned with salt, that ye may know how ye ought to answer every man." "Let all bitterness and wrath and anger and clamor and evil speaking be put away from you, with all malice, and be ye kind one to another, tender hearted, forgiving one another, even as God, for Christ's sake, hath forgiven you."

There were several other matters upon which I intended to say a word, but I am prevented from doing so by want of time. One thing, however, I can not omit. I have sometimes feared that the unhappy spirit which now pervades and divides the country will appear also in the General Assembly of the Church, and cause a division there. If such an event should unfortunately occur, I am exceedingly anxious that you should not be hasty in taking any steps to unite with either side in the division that may arise—at least that nothing shall be done to commit the Church until we have an opportunity of conferring together. I do not think that any of your interests will suffer by a little delay; and it may be that, even if the next Assembly, carried away by the excitement now pervading the country, shall be rent in twain, that the Presbyteries and Churches may not ratify their acts. But my heart's desire and prayer to God is that no such calamity may befall our beloved Church. Whatever may be the results of the present divisions existing in the country, God grant that the Presbyterian Church may remain a united and harmonious body.

And now, dear brethren, farewell until we meet again. I have written this in great heaviness of heart, amid many personal anxieties and perplexities, and I doubt not that it will find many of you pressed by your own sorrows and trials. But let us not be discouraged. If we love Christ and are faithful to the end, there is a bright and glorious home where we shall meet—a home which shall never be invaded by sickness and death—a home that shall never be rent by strife and faction—a home which shall not be startled by the battle of the warrior with "confused noise and garments rolled in blood." Thanks be to God through our Lord Jesus Christ there is such a home for any of us, and for all of us. O, let none of us forget that home, in thinking of this which is not our home. Let none of us fail of that by being unfaithful in this. That the grace of Christ may rest upon you, is the prayer of your affectionate friend and pastor.

At the appointed time Dr. McPheeters returned to St. Louis. The pastoral letter had gone before, and everything promised well. The people welcomed the preacher with open arms and sympathetic hearts; for now more than ever the congregation needed the prayers and counsels of a faithful, devoted and judicious minister "to go in and out among them." The very presence of a pastor so long known and trusted, it was hoped, would prove "an excellent oil." Dr. McPheeters fully comprehended the situation and determined fearlessly to take a true and scriptural position before the Church and the world, be the sacrifice what it might; for he foresaw that in the diversity of political thought which divided the community, it would be a death-blow to ministerial influence in any man to advocate, as a partisan, the particular views which were entertained either by Federals or Confederates. In the times of this distress, therefore, the pastor wisely resolved not to know "any thing save Jesus Christ and Him crucified." Having taken an oath of allegiance to the United States Government with the purpose in good faith to keep it, he implored his entire flock to be satisfied with this, and thereby hold up the pastor's hands in his honest effort to be the minister of the Lord Jesus to all. How, under these circumstances, the spirit of persecution arose will be faithfully developed in the sequel.

CHAPTER VII.

COLUMBUS ASSEMBLY—CORRESPONDENCE WITH G. P. STRONG AND OTHERS.

In the year 1862 the Assembly met at Columbus, Ohio. At the appointed time Dr. R. J. Breckinridge introduced a paper which abounds in bitter epithets and the most discreditable charges against the Presbyterians of the South. It is alleged that they have been guilty of "treason," "rebellion," "anarchy," "violence," "fraud," "disloyalty," "schism," "disturbance," "conspiracy," "horrible treason," "disloyal and traitorous attempts," "blasphemy," &c. The perusal of this document excites emotions peculiarly painful, when it is remembered that its author was nourished and brought up in the bosom of the Southern Church, and that her people in former days had zealously defended him against aspersions repeated over and over again by ecclesiastical enemies at the North. It was hoped that in the hour of her calamity and sorrow the man whom she had delighted to honor would, to a measurable extent at least, be influenced by the memories and associations of the past. These expectations, however, were miserably disappointed. Dr. Breckinridge not only denounced "Christian people throughout all the revolted States," but having exhausted the catalogue of invective in that direction, turns to the gentle pastor of Pine Street Church and proclaims him a traitor. To the cruel accusation brought against himself, Dr. McPheeters replied: "Sir, the Church, as such, owes its allegiance only to Jesus Christ. His kingdom is the only kingdom she is bound to uphold. His Word is the only constitution that she recognizes as authoritative or is at liberty to interpret. The constitution of the State binds the citizen. The citizen by becoming a Christian comes into no new relations to the State. If you shall pass this paper I shall stand in my lot and do my duty. Your doing what I believe to be wrong will not justify me in doing wrong. For one I have already stood for a year under a deliverance which in conscience I believe to be ecclesiastically wrong. If you pass this paper I will try to make the best of it. So long as you do not require me to do or say anything which, in the sight of God, I believe to be wrong, and do not hinder doing or saying anything I believe to be right—as I do not think you intend to do such a thing—I expect to remain true to all my duties to the Church."

Notwithstanding all that was done, in the judgment of impartial minds, Dr. McPheeters clearly gained the advantage of Dr. Breckinridge on the floor of the Assembly, and from this time onward, in the opinion of the country at large, one man "increased" while the other just as manifestly "decreased."

Encouraged, no doubt, by the action of the Columbus Assembly, a small faction in the Pine Street congregation addressed to Dr. McPheeters a communication, dated St. Louis, June 18th, in which they make minute inquiries in regard to the pastor's loyalty, and also declare "that the baptism of the child of Samuel Robbins, in our Church, on the 8th instant, by the name of that arch rebel and traitor, Sterling Price, we regard as a premeditated insult to the government and all its friends in the Pine Street Church. We consider it nothing less than a public and sacrilegious prostitution of a sacred ordinance of God's house, to the gratification, on his part, of the most contemptible and malicious feelings of hostility to 'the powers that be.'" This letter was signed by George P. Strong and twenty-nine others. On July 8th Dr. McPheeters replied as follows:

DEAR BRETHREN: Your communicaton, dated June 18 (the day after I had left the city for a trip to St. Paul), was handed to me immediately on my return, with the request that I would, at my convenience, give you a written answer.

To go into a full consideration of all that the communication contains would require a much longer reply than I deem it necessary for me to make. I shall, therefore, omit everything but such points as, after a careful reading of the paper, I consider important or proper for me to notice.

Your communication relates to my views and conduct as a minister of the Gospel, and also to my views and conduct as a citizen of the Commonwealth; and it is of the utmost importance that the duties, obligations and responsibilities which grow out of this twofold relation of minister and citizen should not be confounded. It is not a distinction without a difference, unless the distinction between the Church and the State is also a distinction without a difference. In discharging my duties as a minister of the Gospel I am bound by the Word of God, and I have accepted the standards of the Presbyterian Church as a true exposition of the Scriptures in relation both to faith and practice, and my responsibility for the faithful discharge of these duties is to the Head of the Church, and under Him to the Presbytery to which I belong. In the discharge ot my distinctive duties as a citizen I am bound by the laws of the land, and my responsibility is to the civil authority; but, since my civil duties are, at the same time, religious duties, my Presbytery may also inquire into my neglect of any of my civil duties. I mention these very plain things for the purpose of setting at rest any claim which you, brethren, or any number of gentlemen, have, either as Church members or as citizens, to *demand as a matter of right* an answer from me to such a paper as that presented. It is perfectly manifest that no such right exists, and if it were distinctly and formally claimed, I would be compelled to resist it. It is, moreover, with me a question of very grave doubt whether I should permit feelings of courtesy and personal regard to lead me even to appear to lend the influence of my example to a practice which, if it should become common, would, I am persuaded, destroy the harmony and mar the peace of all our Churches. For, brethren, if you may ask of me as your pastor a written answer to a paper going over the whole field of a great national convulsion, involving not simply questions of moral right and wrong, but also questions of constitutional law and most intricate questions of State policy, then what questions may you not ask and demand of me my answer? If a pastor begins such a course, upon what principle can he ever stop? If one portion of his congregation may rightfully and wisely call upon him to define his position on public affairs, may not another portion do the same? If wise and judicious members of a congregation begin such a course, may not the unwise and injudicious feel called upon to imitate their example? Does not the principle, if once admitted, and the practice, if once established, throw every pastor helpless into the hands of any party or faction that may at any time arise in his congregation? But while I feel constrained to call your attention to the very dangerous principle which such a course involves, and while I must and do solemnly declare that I will not admit this to be a precedent by which I will be governed in the future, yet such is my disposition to treat you personally with courtesy, and your wishes with respect, that I shall proceed to make such statements as in my judgment should be satisfactory.

As to my position as a minister of the Gospel, those of you who have been longest connected with my church will bear me testimony that from the time I came to this city, now more than eleven years ago, to the present day, I have never on any occasion, or under any pretext, introduced into the pulpit any matter of a political kind; that I have uniformly condemned the practice as contrary to the example of the inspired Apostles—as evil in itself, evil to the Church, and evil to the State.

I have over and often, and long before our present troubles began, explained to you my views of the relation of the Church and the State; how both are ordained of God, but ordained for different purposes; that they move in different orbits, have different ends to accomplish, and that they are independent the one of the other. Upon all these subjects my convictions, so far from being changed, are confirmed; and whether you agree with me or not, I can and do appeal to every one of you, and to all who know me, that my whole teaching and practice upon these subjects have been uniform and consistent during the entire time I have ministered to you; and I can only say that my conduct and views upon all these matters being the result of religious convictions, that until these convictions are changed there is nothing left for me but steadfastly to continue, through good report and through evil report, to do as I have done. I certainly shall not allow idle and baseless rumors circulated through the community by silly or malicious persons to turn me from a course I have deliberately and long since adopted as a matter of conscience.

It was during my absence in New Mexico that the angry clouds, which had long lowered above the political horizon, burst upon the land in the fearful storm of civil war. With startling rapidity the country passed from argument to arms. When I got back the discussion was over—the war begun. All this I learned with feelings of unutterable sorrow, as from time to time I received intelligence from the States. I saw then as distinctly as I see now, that the country was to be involved in a fierce, bloody and desolating war. Isolated as I then was, outside of the currents that were moving the whole country, I considered carefully and prayerfully what course I would pursue upon my return. I will not pretend that the conclusion I reached was absolutely correct. I will even admit that a constitutional abhorrence which I have to strife of every kind may have unduly influenced my mind. Be that as it may, I formed the deliberate purpose to have just as little to do with the political troubles of the country as I could—to exert myself to the utmost to calm the passions and soothe the asperities of all parties, and in my pulpit to hold up these great truths of the gospel which, important at all times, are especially important in times like this. I believed then, and I believe now, that in this way I should render the best service it was in my power to render, either to the Church or to the State. The course thus marked out I can honestly say I have endeavored to follow.

There are two matters mentioned in the communication before me which require me to say a word by way of explanation. The first relates to the baptism of the child of Mr. Robbins, by the name of Sterling Price, which seems to have been the immediate occasion of this paper. Now, I wish you to bear in mind that my entire agency in that whole matter was just what was *seen by the congregation, and no more.* The parents never consulted me as to the name their child was to bear, nor did either of them ever tell me what it was until, in the very act of administering the sacrament, I asked them. I clearly had no option in the matter. Our Directory of Worship, chapter vii, section 5, says: "The minister is to pray for a blessing to attend the ordinance, after which, calling the child by its name, he is to say—I baptize thee, &c. This is all that I did. I had no right to decline doing it, and it never once crossed my mind that I was doing anything for which any reasonable person, knowing the circumstances, could or would blame me. Nor do I see how any one of you, placed in my circumstances, could have acted differently without assuming an authority which did not belong to the ministerial office. One of the signers of this paper is the clerk of Session. Will he refuse to enter that child's name upon the Church Register? I suppose not. But why, I ask, should my simply official act in pronouncing a name be considered in a different light from his official act in recording the same name upon the public register of the Church? And I can not help saying, that when this paper charges Mr. Robbins with "sacrilegeously prostituting a sacred ordinance of God's house to the gratification of contemptible and malicious feelings of hostility to the powers that be," that in my judgment such language is exceedingly harsh and uncharitable—for I have it from his own lips, that he had no purpose of doing any such thing as is attributed to him. We should not charge any one with motives which they distinctly deny.

The other point upon which I wish to say a word is in relation to the public prayer in the sanctuary for the civil authorities. Paul, in his first epistle to Timothy, who was a minister, exhorts him "to pray for kings and all who are in authority, that we (Christians) may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty." The rule here laid down plainly makes it the duty of all who conduct the public worship of God's house to ask for God's blessing upon all the civil rulers of the earth; for the expresssion is not *the king*, but "for kings and all who are in authority," and the idea is that God having a Church scattered through the world, the Church is to pray that God would so bless and guide all civil rulers that they may not hinder the Church in its work. If, however, it is a duty to pray for the civil rulers in all the world, much more is it the duty of the Church to pray for those who stand in immediate relation to particular portions of it. But when the Church of God unites in prayer for the civil authorities there is no expression on her part of approbation or of disapprobation of either their personal character or civil administration. The duty has remained the same through all the changes of men and measures which have taken place for eighteen hundred years. And when this inspired command was given to ministers Nero was Emperor of Rome. As a minister, and in my official capacity, I am bound—yes, and private Christians, too, are bound—to pray for those in authority over us, whether we like or dislike, whether we approve or disapprove of the civil acts done by them. This is very plain; and it is just as plain that neither the Scriptures, the Church of God, nor Christianity *know anything of prayer as a means of showing loyalty, or of praying up to the requirements of some popular standard of loyalty.* If I were living in the dominions of the Sultan of Turkey I would pray for kings and all who are in authority, and especially for him, and had I lived under the administration of Washington, I would have done no more. Of course, then, I have no objections, and in the very nature of the case could have none, to "praying for the President of these United States." It is just what I have done during every administration since I became a minister, and it is just what I expect to do. It is true, I seldom use that form, having generally offered prayer for kings and all who are in authority, and more especially for those who are in authority over us. My reasons for this are—*First*, it is a Scriptural form; *second*, it is very comprehensive; *third*, it is in general the form I have used since the beginning of my ministry. And it seems to me as simply ludicrous to say that the form—"those who are in authority over us"—leaves the matter in doubt as to the person meant. If any one feels any doubt as to "who are in authority over us," and will express that doubt publicly, his doubts will speedily be solved.

Now, as to my purposes as a citizen, I have but a word to say. Whatever duties I have learned, or may hereafter learn, from the Word of God (which is my rule of faith and practice) to be incumbent upon me, I shall endeavor in time to come, as I have in time past, to perform. Before I came to this State I did on two occasions take an oath of allegiance to the Constitution of the United States. To me that oath has not grown old. The God by whose name I swore is the "living God." When the Convention of the State of Missouri, at its last session, enacted a law requiring an oath from those who solemnize the civil part of the marriage contract, I felt it to be my duty to take it. I expressed my purpose to do so before I left home for St. Paul. I have taken it since my return. I mention these dates to show you that neither this paper nor any circumstances which have subsequently occurred influenced my decision on that point.

In conclusion, brethren, let me say that this reply has been dictated by feelings of kindness; my great aim has been to promote the peace and unity of the Church, and to prevent any root of bitterness from springing up to trouble us. I hope you will receive it in the same spirit in which it is written. When I was ordained, I vowed before God and His Church that I would "study the peace, unity and purity of the Church." All of you who are, or have been, office-bearers in the Church have taken and are bound by the same solemn vows, and every member of the Church is under the same obligation. There is absolutely no question now before us affecting the *purity* of the Church. There is, therefore, nothing which, in the sight of God, can justify any of us in disturbing its *peace* and *unity*. Up to the present time, by the great mercy of God, our Church has moved on in peace and harmony. There has been, as there should have been, a disposition to exercise mutual forbearance upon points about which you differed. Let this continue. It is what the Lord Jesus requires of us all. The interests we meet in God's house to promote are infinitely above any or all the interests of time. We are not only citizens of the State, but we are also citizens of a kingdom not of this world. The dreadful contest now going on is one to which the Church, as such, is not a party; let us all see to it that she is not made a victim. Those who handed me this paper told me that I was to consider it as coming from my friends. I have so treated it; and this answer is not written with any design of being published; and I give it to you with the express understanding that no part of it is to be published without my consent.

After this letter of Dr. McPheeters reached its destination certain members of the " Pine Street Church who were in favor of sustaining the Government of the United States in its efforts to put down the rebellion raised against it, held a meeting on the 15th of October, 1862, when Mr. Joshua H. Alexander was called to the Chair and Richard Holme appointed Secretary."

By request of the meeting, the answer of Rev. S. B. McPheeters to the communication addressed to him in June last, inquiring whether he was a friend of the Government and desired its authority re-established, or a friend of the rebellion and desired its success, was read and discussed.

It was then unanimously resolved, That the answer was not satisfactory, for the reason that it entirely omitted to inform us whether Mr. McPheeters was a friend or an enemy of the Government of the United States.

It was further resolved, That inasmuch as the communication of June 18th, 1862, was addressed to our pastor for the purpose of ascertaining the truth or falsity of reports, very current in St. Louis and elsewhere, that he sympathized with the rebellion and desired the success of the Southern States in their attempt to dismember the Union and establish a Southern Confederacy, and also to relieve our Church of the odium of being a secession Church, which was fast settling upon it, owing to the silence of our pastor and the active disloyalty of many of its members, and inasmuch as the omission of any reply to the inquiries made of our pastor has left us without the means of contradicting the reports and correcting the very general opinion of his disloyalty at heart, and inasmuch as he requests that his answer shall not be published, and as its publication would only confirm the opinion of his disloyalty, that, therefore, his answer be returned to him as wholly unsatisfactory.

It was further resolved, That at a time when the existence of the Government, under which we have enjoyed unequaled civil and religious privileges, is seriously threatened by a rebellion of unparalleled atrocity and wickedness, we deem it the duty of every man to encourage and sustain our rulers in their efforts to overthrow the power of the rebels and re-establish the Union. And we are unwilling to countenance by our attendance a Church whose moral influence encourages the rebellion and where treason is unrebuked; and unless our pastor can find it consistent with his feelings and convictions of duty to make himself known as a friend of the Government under which he lives, and, in leading the public devotions of his people, can pray for the success of that Government in putting down armed resistance to its authority, we shall feel constrained to abandon a Church to which we are devotedly attached until a cordial obedience to the lawfully constituted authorities of the State and opposition to treason are taught from the pulpit and by the private influence and example of the pastor.

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to return to Rev. Mr. McPheeters the answer above referred to, and also to furnish him with a copy of these resolutions, signed by the Secretary and Chairman of this meeting.

Messrs. Thompson, Morrison and Strong were appointed on that committee.

On November 3d Dr. McPheeters replied:

GENTLEMEN: The series of resolutions purporting to have been adopted "at a meeting of the members of Pine Street Presbyterian Church who are in favor of sustaining the Government of the United States in its efforts to put down the rebellion raised against it," which you were appointed to hand me, I have received, and having considered them, I request you to submit to the organization which you represent the following as my reply:

Before I begin, however, let me call your attention to what, if not a clerical error, must not be permitted to pass without notice. You say, "at a meeting of the members of Pine Street Church, in favor of sustaining the Government," &c. Perhaps you intended to say, "at a meeting" of some or a few "of the members," &c., for you will hardly claim that the eighteen or twenty who composed your meeting are all of the members of Pine Street

Church who are in favor of sustaining the Government? If you think so, it may be as well to tell you that there are many others quite as earnest as yourselves "in sustaining the Government" who were not with you in your meeting, and who are not likely to be with you in your present movement. For, let me further tell you, that the real questions in controversy between us are not, as I will presently show, questions as to the duty of citizens to sustain their Government, nor questions as to the right or wrong of the efforts made to dismember the Union, nor questions of loyalty or disloyalty, but questions of a very different kind, viz.: What is the relation of a pastor to his people?—what rights does it involve? Is it purely ecclesiastical and spiritual, or is it ecclesiastical and political? And your preamble would have been far more accurate if it had been couched in some such language as this: "At a meeting of some of the members of Pine Street Presbyterian Church, who claim that a pastor is bound to give a formal answer to such civil and political questions as his people may see good to ask him, it was resolved," &c. For the main point in your resolutions is just this, that I omitted to answer the questions you propounded to me in your paper of June last.

A word now as to that paper. It was gotten up, you remember, during my temporary absence on a trip to St. Paul, and was handed to me on my return. I read it not only with astonishment, but sorrow. The claim, which it quietly assumed, that the members of my church had a right to demand of me, as their pastor, a written answer to such questions as were there asked, struck me as so unheard of and absurd; the yielding to such a claim seemed to me so evil and dangerous a precedent; some of the language used I thought, upon a fair construction, to be personally so offensive, and the whole proceeding I regarded as so irregular and unpresbyterian that my first impulse was to return it without a word. But upon learning something of the history of the paper, that in the getting up it was the work of one or two individuals who wrote and handed it around for signatures, and knowing how easily, by plausible representations, signatures might be obtained, and being morally certain that many who signed it had no purpose whatever of disturbing the peace of the Church, and charitably thinking that the language to which I made exception might be explained by the author of the paper (which, in private, he has subsequently done), and hoping that a reply might be made which, while it yielded nothing as to the right of asking such questions of me as a pastor, might at once tend to the harmony of the Church and to the satisfaction of those who wished to be satisfied, I determined to return a reply, and to answer such parts of the paper as I "deemed it important or proper for me to notice." Upon all the matters relating to my pastoral and ministerial duties I aimed to be full and explicit. Upon my duties and opinions as a citizen, while I entered a formal protest against the right of Church members to question me about my opinions on such matters, I, nevertheless, so far waived the matter as to tell you explicitly that as far as I knew I discharged to the best of my ability all the duties of a citizen enjoined upon me by the Word of God or the laws of the land. But I did purposely and of deliberate design omit a formal answer to the questions which you asked me, because, while I was willing to do almost anything not in itself wrong to prevent discord, I felt that it would be wrong to yield to so pernicious a claim as I then suspected and am now convinced was there set up.

Before the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church I solemnly and formally denied the right of any ecclesiastical body, from the highest to the lowest, to question a minister upon his political opinions, and as you saw good to deny that position, it was hardly to be expected that I would yield it when claimed by a few members of my Church who had no right to question me judicially upon my theological, much less my political, opinions.

When my reply was prepared, I publicly requested the signers of the paper to meet me at a time and place designated. At that meeting, a majority of the signers of the first paper being present, I read my answer and we had a free conversation on the whole subject. The interview was pleasant and, as I supposed, satisfactory. Several who were present expressed themselves (if language can convey thoughts) as entirely satisfied; others thought the whole thing would do good and tend to the harmony of the Church. And the impression made upon my mind, and I think would have been made upon the mind of any person present, was, that the whole had come to a happy and satisfactory conclusion, and when the meeting adjourned it was with mutual congratulations. I ought in justice to say that neither of the two gentlemen who drew up the paper were present at this meeting, both of them being at the time out of the city temporarily, and that upon their return and reading my answer they told me frankly that it was not what they hoped and desired it should be.

Some of the signers of the first paper who were present at the meeting just mentioned have shown that they were and are satisfied, by refusing to have anything further to do with the matter. Others who were there, and who were among the first to express, in most distinct and devout language, their joy at the "happy result of the whole matter," I find now among the "unanimous" in declaring their dissatisfaction, nay, in returning my paper as "wholly unsatisfactory." Of this I do not complain. I freely grant that men have a right to change their opinions, and to learn what should satisfy them; and three months and a half is a long period in times like these. But let this go. I return to the true and only point at issue between us, which is this: You claim the right, in virtue of the relation which exists between us as pastor and people, to ask and receive my written opinion and personal position upon civil and political questions no way connected with my office and duty as a minister of the gospel. That this claim was set up by the movers in this matter I suspected, as I have intimated, when I read your paper of June last. That it is now distinctly announced seems to be plain beyond dispute, since you have organized yourselves, with chairman and secretary, and send your committee to deliver the resolves which you have taken, in case I fail to yield the claim by practical obedience.

Now, gentlemen, before I can yield what you demand you must show me what foundation your claim has in reason, Scripture, or the standards of the Presbyterian Church, and until you do this I must tell you plainly that this claim I utterly deny and feel compelled to resist. And I do now resist it by refusing to be catechised by you; by again declining any answers to questions of the kind which you propound; by making no promise of obedience to your demands, and by refusing to plead at your bar. And this position I take, not from any disposition to stand out captiously upon an abstract question of right, nor from any disposition improperly to conceal my views on political questions, but from a conscientious conviction that I can not yield the thing you claim without, to the full extent of my example, compromising the rights of every minister and endangering the peace of all our churches. The claim of right to ask and receive an answer from your pastor to such questions clearly rests on an unscriptural and dangerous error as to the pastoral relation itself. It is in no sense and to no degree a civil and political relation. It has no concernment with men, viewed in any other light than as citizens of "a kingdom not of this world." All of the duties and rights which belong to the relation of pastor and people grow out of relations which they bear to Christ and his Church, and the moment we cut loose from this we are at sea without chart or compass. If a pastor begins to answer such questions as you ask, where can he consistently stop? Let him once yield the right to some, and he can not consistently deny it to any. Let him once begin to give his written opinion and personal position as pastor upon any of these questions, *no matter how important in themselves*, and how long will it be before he will be called upon as a pastor to take his official position upon the various questions of State policy which arise; to express and defend, as a minister of the gospel, his views upon the proclamations and orders at any time issued by the government? The magnitude and profoundly interesting character of the questions about which you asked my views do not in any degree alter my position; nay, it is to me a matter of gratitude that, since the question has come up, it has risen, not upon any subordinate question of party politics, but upon questions which, in their civil aspect, are nationally important and vital. Because, by resisting the whole claim here, I resist it everywhere. By testifying against it under these circumstances, and at what personal perils and penalties I know not, I am enabled to bear testimony against the whole system of church secularization, which I solemnly believe is a sign of the times, and which, if carried out, will end in degrading the ministers of the gospel into politicians, and the Church itself into a thing of State.

You may think that I am alarmed at a chimera, that the danger I seek to avoid is only in my imagination. I might be persuaded to believe this if I had not learned what has taken place in many parts of the Church and seen what has fallen under my own observation. Nay, gentlemen, if you will but look at your own course you will see that my fears are not imaginary. While I was in New Mexico, when I was entirely ignorant of the views of any of you, I prepared a pastoral letter, declaring my purpose, as your pastor, to avoid intermeddling with these exciting political questions, and urging the members of the Church not to permit them to come into the house of God. And when I returned I told you distinctly that it was my purpose not only not to introduce them into my pulpit, but as far as possible to stand aloof from them as an individual.

Without exception you approved of my course. It was, you all told me, what you desired. I remember the individuals among you who said, "we have the war all the week, and want the gospel on Sunday." "I hear you with respect when you expound the Scriptures, but I believe I understand political matters as well or better than you do;" and well do I remember the mortification and indignation which one of your number expressed when a military officer of high rank made a patriotic instead of a religious address in the Sunday School with which he is connected. Thus things stood for months. The first intimation I had of any change in your views was in the paper of June last. I then learned that some of you were changing your ground. Still, even in that paper, you say, "we do not desire from you, as we have before stated, any ostentatious or pulpit manifestations of attachment to the government, unless it should be considered such to pray in public for the President of the United States, and those who are in authority under him," &c. In my reply I distinctly told you that I considered it as clearly a duty enjoined in the Scriptures to pray for those in authority, and as the President of the United States undoubtedly had authority over us, that I did and would continue to pray for him. Again the majority seemed satisfied. And now, after three months and a half, you come and tell me, "unanimously," that you are not satisfied, and will not be satisfied until the whole subject is prayed over and discussed from the pulpit! And what you will desire and demand three months and a half hence, who can tell? I, therefore, call attention to your own course as a thorough vindication of the wisdom and necessity of mine, that I did not resist unreasonable demands too soon, if I intended to resist at all.

In your former paper, and in the one now before me, you refer to "reports here and elsewhere affecting my loyalty," and you tell me that the sole object of the paper of June last, with reference to me, was to ascertain the truth or falsity of these rumors. All that I can say is, that it that was the "*sole object*," you adopted a very unfortunate way of accomplishing it when you place before me the alternative of yielding to a most dangerous and unreasonable claim, or remaining silent. With my views of right and duty I could not hesitate which alternative to choose. I had rather endure false assumptions of rights. *Rumors are things of a day—rights are perpetual.*

I am not ignorant of the fact that rumors have been circulated, and printed, too, charging me, directly or indirectly, with disloyalty. I know, also, that it is a day of rumors and falsehood and detraction. And the only notice I have felt called upon to take of these things has been to contradict them by the quiet tenor of my life. I have thought, yea, and I still think, that the "rumors of disloyalty" need not alarm one who, recognizing civil government as "ordained of God," has been "subject" unto it, "not only for wrath, but for conscience sake;" who, in obedience to the divine command, has "submitted himself to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake;" who has "rendered to all their dues—tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom custom, fear to whom fear, and honor to whom honor," and who, in public and private, has prayed for those who are in authority.

All this I claim to have done habitually and as a part of my duty to God.

And to bring this matter to an issue, let me say, there are civil, military and ecclesiastical courts, and that I do now challenge any and all men—all makers and spreaders and endorsers of these rumors—to prove before any one of these tribunals an act that I have done or a word that I have said that a good citizen has not a perfect right to do or say. I can not, however, dismiss "these rumors of disloyalty" without calling your attention to the fact that one of your resolutions may, and in all probability will, be taken as giving them a quasi endorsement. Now if, with the knowledge some of you have, your conscience and self-respect will allow you to do this, I have nothing to say but what my own self-respect forbids my saying. Of one thing I am certain, that I can far better afford to have such charges made than any good man can afford to make them. So much for the rumors which have me for their object.

A word now as to those who charge Pine Street Church as being a "secession church." If by a "secession church" is meant that there are a number of its members or attendants who hold the political dogma that a State has a right to secede from the Federal Union, I have to confess that I do not know whether the charge is true or false, for I do not know the views of one in ten on these subjects. And if any one should say that our church is a Democratic church, or a Republican church, or an Unconditional Union Emancipation church, or a President's Proclamation church, using all of these appellatives in the same sense, I would be equally at a loss to affirm or deny. I know but little of the political opinions of the members of my church, never having assumed the right of catechising them. But that Pine Street Church is a "secession church" in the sense that such doctrines are taught from its pulpit, or inculcated by its pastor, or in any manner or to any degree characterize its worship, government or discipline, is what no man will dare to say who has one principle of truth, honor or honesty. When Pine Street Church becomes a secession church, or any other kind of church but a Church of Jesus Christ, for one I will turn from it with the loathing that I would feel for a bride who has deserted her husband to follow another. But while it remains true to Christ, the attempt, either directly or indirectly, to darken its name with so odious a slander is a fearful sin, and God will not hold men guiltless who commit it.

I will not close this communication without telling you that I greatly regret the course which you have been led to adopt in this whole matter. It must strike every Presbyterian as, to say the least, unusual. The first intimation I had of any dissatisfaction in the Church was the formal paper of June last. Not a word had been said to me in private on the subject, and yet, from the intimacy that existed between myself and not a few of your number, this was what I felt that I had a right to expect; but, not to insist upon this, which is only a question of propriety, I must insist that, if action was to be taken concerning things affecting the interest of the Church, the Church Session was the only proper body to move in the matter. According to the Presbyterian form of government, "the Church Session is charged with maintaining the spiritual government of the congregation." It is "to concert the best means for promoting its spiritual interests." Surely the matters which you thought so gravely affecting the spiritual interests of the Church should have been at least brought before this body, which, according to our standards, has that matter in charge. There was no difficulty in getting either a formal or informal hearing in that court, as the two originators of this movement were both of them members of the Session; yet not a word was said in the Session—they were not consulted, nor even informed as to what was going on; and now you have formed an organization in the Church itself, which, according to your own preamble, seems to me to be distinctly and professedly political, and by formal resolutions tell me what I must preach and what I must pray, declaring, if I understand the language, that if I do not thus preach and pray you are determined, in violation of your vows and duty, to abstain from the ordinances of God's house as administered in the Church to which you belong and of which some of you are office-bearers. Now, I appeal to your better judgment if this can be justified? Is it not manifestly schismatical? It seems to me that you are doing in the Church of God what you so thoroughly condemn when done in the State.

Is schism less a sin than secession? And what if, in imitation of your example, I should get a paper telling me that "at a meeting of the members of Pine Street Church who are in favor of sustaining the government of the" (Presbyterian Church) "in its efforts to put down" (the schism) "raised against it," (resolutions were passed demanding that) "a cordial obedience to the lawfully constituted authority of the" (Church) "and opposition to schism should be taught from its pulpit and by the private influence and example of its pastor." I call your attention to this not because it is likely to occur, nor because if it did occur that I would be likely to give any other attention to the demand than I expect to give yours, but I ask you to look at it to see where the principle you adopt and the course you have pursued logically lead. I do sincerely hope that you will reconsider this whole matter and take a different view of your duty. But upon whatever course you may determine, and whatever results may follow it, I feel conscious that, in these times of violence and faction, I have aimed to conduct myself circumspectly as a minister of Christ—that I have studied and sought after the things that make for peace—that I have tried to avoid all occasion of irritation; and so true is this that those who complain of my course complain not of what I have done, but of what I have not done. I know there are sins of omission as well as of commission, and if I am guilty of the former I am truly sorry; but this I can say, I followed my best judgment in view of my responsibility to God. This I say with regard to those subjects more or less connected with the troubles of the State, which might be legitimately presented from the pulpit. As to my launching out in the pulpit upon politics, State or national, expounding or defending the Constitution of the United States, advocating or opposing the measures of the administration, I have no more idea of doing so than I have of doing anything that would bring conscious self-degradation.

I regard the whole generation of ministers who do these things in the pulpit as a disgrace to the Church and an intolerable nuisance to the State, and that they are anywhere tolerated is to my mind evidence of such a state of corruption as goes far to explain the fearful judgments that God has sent upon the land. I expect, therefore, in time to come as in time past, to preach the great distinctive doctrines of the Gospel; nor do I see any good reasons why I should change the petitions which I am in the habit of offering in the sanctuary. I belive them to be scriptural, and such as all good men should be able heartily to unite in offering to God. I pray for all our civil rulers. This Paul enjoins. I ask God to give them the wisdom their station demands; to let His blessing rest upon them; to incline them to do that which is right, and to restrain them from doing anything that would be hurtful or wrong. In reference to our national troubles, I confess our national and individual sins as the cause; acknowledge the justice of God in afflicting us; implore His pardon for the past and His mercy for the future; and without prescribing to Him the method or the means, I beseech Him, in the name of Christ, so to order and control all these events that they shall result in His glory, the advancement of His kingdom and the good of the whole country.

And I have selected petitions like these, not as adapted to this or that locality, but what, as in my conscience before God, I believe to be becoming and proper in the Church of God, which, in my conception of it, is in its very nature spiritual, beneficent and catholic; belonging to no party, section or nation; having no head or law-giver but Christ, and having no work to do and no kingdom to uphold but His. I know that there are ministers who go much further in all these things than I do, and I know that among them are many eminent for wisdom and piety. I do not judge such. I honor and love them. Still, as every man is to give an account of himself to Christ, I must do what, after earnest and prayerful meditation, I believe Christ will approve. If I have adopted this course for fear of man, or to please men, or from any unworthy or sinful motive, I have reason to fear his displeasure; but if I have adopted it from a conscientious conviction that it is right—from a desire to please him, even if I am mistaken, I shall still humbly hope in his pardon.

But I close this communication, already too long. In my former reply I told you that without my consent I did not wish it to be published. My reasons for this were, first, I hoped the whole thing would be settled among ourselves without going to the public. Second, I feared that its publication in the present excited state of the public mind might be seized upon by anonymous writers, who, under cover of patriotism and loyalty, might seek to vent their personal or sectarian spleen against the church; and, third, out of regard for yourselves, for I considered your communication, in its whole tenor and spirit, as so foreign from what is customary between a pastor and his people, and so evidently tinged by the violent and denunciatory character of these unhappy times, that I believed that you yourselves would, in time to come, regret its publication. But since you have seen proper to say, in one of your resolutions, that the publication of my paper would only confirm the opinion of my disloyalty, I now give my full consent to its publication, on the conditions, first, that the whole communications that have passed between us be published; second, that those who signed the paper of June last, and do not wish to have their names connected with it, be allowed to withdraw them without remark; third, that I am to see and have an opportunity of replying to anything you may choose to say on this paper; that I shall be consulted as to the place and manner of publication; and I ask you to appoint a committee to confer with me as to the time and manner of its publication.

The note that follows explains itself:

DEAR PASTOR: We, the undersigned, desire to express to you that having signed the communication addressed to you, subscribed by a portion of the members of your church and congregation, dated the 18th of June last, and having heard your response, written and read by you, at a meeting held subsequently, at your request, in the lecture room of the church, at which nearly all of said subscribers were present, and at the close of which meeting we understood your response to be quite satisfactory. We have since then learned, with much regret, that some of those subscribers are yet discontented. We desire to state that we do not wish to be considered as having any connection with the movement now understood to be made in the church looking to a dissolution of the pastoral relation.

M. SIMPSON,
W. W. GREENE,
LESLEY GARNETT,
ROBERT DOUGHERTY,
JAMES DOUGHERTY,
JAMES LOVE.

CHAPTER VIII.

REPLY TO AN ATTACK IN THE MISSOURI DEMOCRAT—ORDER OF BANISHMENT—ACTION OF PINE STREET SESSION.

In addition to the foregoing, "a letter appeared in the *Missouri Democrat*, of December 13, 1862, written by George P. Strong, and signed by himself, J. M. Corbett and John M. Ferguson, as a committee." Dr. McPheeters regarded this letter "as a most shameless and false assault upon his character," and he, therefore, proceeds to vindicate his good name in the statement that follows, dated December 22, 1862:

I feel that it is due to myself and the Church of which I am the pastor that I should briefly notice a letter which appeared in the *Democrat*, December 13, written by George P. Strong, and signed by himself, J. M. Corbett and John M. Ferguson, as a committee.

This letter is the continuation of a correspondence, a part of which I had already, in pamphlet form, "printed for the information of the members of Pine Street Church." I wish now to say that I can not consent to have any further correspondence with this committee, and especially with its organ, the chairman; nor can I enter into the kind of newspaper contest which this letter courts. It is as foreign from my taste as it would be unbecoming my calling to "render railing for railing."

There is a self-respect which no one is at liberty to disregard. And when any one allows himself, as the author of this letter has, distinctly to make or plainly to insinuate such charges as I here find—charges the scope and plain meaning of which are that, *in the general*, I use my office as a minister of the Gospel to accomplish wicked and seditious purposes, and in the particular, that I am an encourager of treason; that, as a pastor, I am using my influence to pervert the young of my charge, and to encourage all under my influence in a wicked opposition to the Government under which I live; that I withhold, and that from unworthy motives, the truths of God's Word from those to whom I minister; that having taken "an oath of allegiance under a sort of compulsion," that I have not kept it in its "broad and comprehensive sense," but only so far as to enable me to escape the civil or military penalty of its violation; and that, inventing or adopting "an absurd and ridiculous distinction," I justify myself in taking an oath as a man and violating it as a minister. Now I say, when any one makes or insinuates such charges, and at the same time shows that no age however immature, no sex however feeble, no relation however near, no tie however sacred, is to be exempt from wanton and unmanly assault, self-respect requires me to close a correspondence so conducted; and not only self-respect, but Christian duty, for it is perfectly manifest that a correspondence between a pastor and an elder in his Church, conducted in the spirit of this letter, can only end in bringing scandal upon religion and reproach upon the Church of Christ.

If I have done or am doing what in this letter is alleged or insinuated; if the charges made are true—if they are believed to be true by those who made them—they are bound in duty and conscience to make and establish them before the ecclesiastical court to which I am amenable, that the honor of religion may be vindicated. This I call upon them to do, and if it is not done, if it is not attempted, then let fair minded men judge between me and my assailants; and I have lived to little purpose if, after a ministry of more than half a score of years in this city, good and honorable men believe of me what this letter charges and upon such evidence as it adduces.

I have neither the disposition nor the intention to go through the four columns of this communication and correct the misstatements and misrepresentations which every where abound. This would take far more time and space than I propose to occupy; an insinuation or a false representation may be made in a line which it will take a page to correct. I shall give but one example by way of illustrating the kind of dealing in which this letter abounds, and I select the one that I do, not because it is worse than others, nor because it can be more easily exposed, but because it relates to a matter that has had some prominence in this correspondence and has attracted some attention in the community. I allude to the baptism. The letter says, "Your memory seems equally at fault in reference to the *rebel baptism*, or rather the language you use is calculated to create an erroneous impression. You say the parents never informed you what name the child was to bear 'until, in the very act of administering the sacrament, you asked them.' But other persons *did inform* you, several weeks before the baptism, that it was to be baptized Sterling Price." Now, any one reading this sentence would, I think, infer that I had disingenuously concealed the fact that the child's name had ever been mentioned to me; that in some way they had come to the knowledge that I knew it before, and that they felt bound to expose the duplicity of my course.

But what will impartial men think when they are informed that what they know of this matter is just what they learned from my own lips; that in a public meeting where I met those who are represented by this committee —two of the committee being present—I read the paper in which I say, as quoted above, "neither of the parents informed me," &c; and after reading it I remarked to these very gentlemen, that while what I here said was the simple truth, that I thought it proper to say to them that I had been told that the child was to be called Sterling Price, but in a connection and under circumstances that made me believe it was a jest; that I had dismissed it from my mind, and the name took me as much by suprise as it did the congregation. Now, I submit it to the candor of all men, if those who have no "personal unfriendliness" to me, "some of whom have been my warm and devoted personal friends," should take a fact which I volunteered to give them and make it impeach the very candor that led me to mention it.

It is with real sadness that I have to add that this is not an unfair example of the spirit of this letter. And when the opportunity is offered before an ecclesiastical court (where it can be done with the least scandal), I pledge myself to make this declaration good concerning the body of the statements and the spirit that animates the whole letter.

To those who are represented by this committee I wish to say that I do not hold them responsible for the manner and matter of this communication. I believe that many of them will not approve it.

It is due to the public, and such of my friends as have not already been informed, to say that a small pamphlet, which I had printed for the use of my congregation, contains the correspondence, and the reasons for and circumstances under which it was printed, and will correctly inform those who wish correct information on this whole matter. This pamphlet can be procured from me or any of the members of Pine Street Church. For the information of such as may not take the trouble to procure or read one of these pamphlets I will give a brief statement of the point at issue between myself and these gentlemen.

Some of the members of my church claim that, in virtue of the relation in which I stand to them as pastor, they have a right to demand, and they have demanded, my written opinion and personal position upon the civil and political questions which now agitate the nation.

This claim of right I deny, and have felt bound in duty and conscience to treat it as *a matter of principle*. What they claim as a right has no existence. Nothing in the standard of our church, nothing in the relation of a pastor to his people, involves or implies the existence of such a right. There is not an ecclesiastical tribunal known to my church that would pretend to claim for itself such a right. The whole circumstances connected with the getting up of the paper—its formal manner, formal presentation—all led me understand that *the movers in the matter* were asserting what they regarded as a right. There are times when a wise man, for the sake of peace, may yield even his rights, or at least waive them. But everything around me warned me that this was no time to yield to such a claim. Political questions are the all-absorbing subjects of men's thoughts; the spirit of the day is characterized by lawlessness and radicalism; the community in which I live is excited and divided; all the parties and opinions to be found any where are to be found here. Under such circumstances I could not but see that weakly to yield the claim to such a right was to cut loose from sure moorings and put to sea in a raging storm. It was plain to see that the principle once acknowledged and the practice once inaugurated, I could not stop. If a pastor gives his written opinion on the object and end of the war, why not on the President's proclamation? Why not any civil question?

If Emancipationists may interrogate their pastor, Democrats may do the same. Any man, of any opinion, may claim the same right. It requires no great penetration to see that the dictatorial spirit which begins such a course becomes but more exacting the more it is gratified. Resistance at the beginning, and resistance on some well defined principle, is clearly the only resistance that can hope to be effectual.

Again, I resisted the demand because I regarded it as a duty which I owed to all the ministers of the gospel who are not willing to become politicians. Example is contagious. Restless, radical, fanatical men unhappily abound. There is a sympathy that binds them together like a common instinct. They move in concert. Agitation is their main weapon; where they begin they do not stop. Let any one look at this letter. It will be seen that these gentlemen feel that they have a mission; they feel called upon, in the "conscientious discharge of their duty to God and the government under which they live," not only to regulate their own pastor and church, but other pastors and churches in this city; nay, more, through the Presbytery and Synod (composed of ministers and representatives of the churches), the pastors and churches of half the State. Did not the peace of the church require me firmly and at all hazards to resist the demands of such men? Again, I resisted because the teachings and practice of my whole ministerial life solemnly pledged me to resist. In all places and at all times I have opposed, to the full extent of my ability, the introduction of civil, secular and political questions into the house of God. As a pastor, and because I am a pastor, I have stood aloof from these things, even in my private relations. In the church courts, from the highest to the lowest, when the current was with me and when it was against me, I have resisted with all the influence and ability that I had the introduction and decision of such questions. I have nothing to conceal on this subject, and nothing to retract. I thank God for what he has enabled me to do, and only regret that I was not able to do more. The Constitution of the Presbyterian Church, which every minister in his ordination vows declares that he "sincerely receives and adopts as containing the system of doctrines taught in the Holy Scriptures," says: "Synods or councils are to handle or conclude nothing but what is ecclesiastical, and are not to intermeddle with civil affairs which concern the Commonwealth." The chuch is bound by her fundamental laws to exclude these matters from her courts."

As a minister of the Gospel I have only to say that the point from which I regard and deal with men has never been as citizens of the commonwealth, having civil duties to perform, but as "fallen sinners, having *need of salvation;*" and the great thing at which I have aimed, and to which I have subordinated everything else, is to bring them to the cross, to reconcile them to God through the blood of the Lamb, and to imbue them with the spirit of the Divine Master. In saying this I neither forget nor ignore the fact that I am the authorized expounder of revelation which touches the entire circle of human duty. But I hold this to be true, that when men have an intellectual acquaintance with their civil or social duties, and fail or refuse to do them, that the speediest, the most effectual way to bring them to their performance is to press upon their hearts and consciences the great doctrines of the cross. The all-comprehending source of sin is alienation from God. Bring them back to God and you bring them back to all their duties. This is my theory, and has been my practice since I entered the ministry.

I believe, moreover, in the complete and absolute separation of the

Church and the State. As a minister of the Church, I hold that I have nothing to do with the affairs of the State. I have no commission to uphold the State, much less have I to seek its overthrow. For me to use in any way or to any degree my sacred office, or the influence which it gives me, to subvert the State, to breed discontents in it, to hinder its legitimate action, would, in my esteem, be sacrilege, a high and heaven-daring sin. As a citizen, I hold it to be a most important and indispensable part of my duty to God to obey law, to submit to the authorities, to pray for them, to render them the honor due their several stations, and to promote peace and quietness. These things, I solemnly declare, I have habitually aimed to do.

I had no reason to expect the trial that has come upon me from the conduct of some of the members of my Church. How they reconcile their conduct to their own consciences I do not pretend to know. Their whole course has been to me a mystery, and a painful one. They bring the gravest charges against me for doing just what they themselves have done. The writer of the letter published in the *Democrat* was, until a short time ago, superintendent of the Sabbath School; to him was committed the instruction and guidance of the youth of the Church. He was in the habit of opening the school by reading and expounding a passage of Scripture. When present at our social meetings he has time and again been asked to lead in prayer, yet never in his public teaching, never in social prayer, has he ever said a word or offered a petition from which any one could have gathered what his sentiments were on the absorbing topics of the day. I do not reproach him for this—I commend him. But why should he reproach me when I have gone much farther in all these things than he ever went?

But I drop this whole subject. I have been reluctantly dragged before the community. I now retire with the full purpose not to appear again in this matter. If any choose to misrepresent my position, to impeach my motives, to slander my name, I will bear it with what Christian fortitude I can command. I am comforted in the fact that *four-fifths* of my Church—I speak advisedly—and that without distinction of party or opinions, with all my infirmities, continue to me their confidence and support, and I have what is better, the testimony of my own conscience. The excitement of the present will not always last. A time of reflection will come. Then those ministers of the Gospel who in these wild times have tried to calm excitement, to soothe asperities, who have kept themselves to the Master's work, will not be in dishonor. I can afford to wait, and, if need be, suffer while I wait. I appeal to the future to vindicate my course; and if I am not spared to see that future on earth, yet I know assuredly that another future comes, and I am infinitely more anxious that my course should be approved then than now. For this I hope and labor, and am willing, I trust, to suffer; and knowing, too, that when that day comes I shall only escape by having much forgiven, it becomes me, and I do now, from my heart, desire to forgive others.

Dr. McPheeters also complains that G. P. Strong "had omitted from his published pamphlet the names of those individuals who urgently protested against the persecution of the pastor." He says, in addition, "I have been informed that a paper is being circulated, the object of which is to get members of the Church to pledge themselves to ask a dissolution of the pastoral relation existing between myself and Pine Street Church. This proceeding is extraordinary, unknown to the Presbyterian Church, and in manifest violation of its Constitution and usages."

The foregoing complaint of Dr. McPheeters is fully sustained by testimony gathered from a source that leaves no margin for doubt. A cautious, intelligent and conscientious member of Pine Street congregation states:

During the troubles in Pine Street Church one of the male members of the Church who was active in procuring signatures to a paper calling on Dr. McPheeters to resign his pastoral charge, was also a member of the Public School Board. Among others he called on a young lady, who was employed as a teacher in one of the Public Schools, and requested her signature to the paper which he presented. She, however, promptly declined to do so, for the reason, as she stated, that she admired and loved Dr. McPheeters, and did not wish to part with him as her pastor. Whereupon he threatened her with peremptory dismissal from her situation in the Public School if she persisted in her refusal to sign the paper. The young lady was poor, and entirely dependent on her salary as a teacher, not only for her own support, but also for the support of her mother and her family. When, therefore, the alternative of signing the odious paper or losing her situation, and thereby bringing penury on herself and on the large family dependent on her, was presented by one who had the power to carry his threat into execution, she reluctantly affixed her signature to it. But no sooner did she do this than she at once sought Dr. McPheeters at his residence, frankly told him what she had done, and stated to him the circumstances under which she had acted. At the same time assuring him of her ardent and unchanged affection, she *burst into tears*, and asked for and obtained her letter of dismission from the Church in which she could no longer consent to remain.

What amount of personal ill-feeling on the part of "the committee" lay at the bottom of this correspondence it is altogether needless to conjecture. Dr. McPheeters said in his speech before the Assembly: "Mr. Strong, just before his letter came to me, twice asked me to go to the Provisional Governor of Missouri and make favorable mention of him as a suitable person to be appointed a judge of the Supreme Court of the State; and while, for reasons which I gave him, I never did as requested, yet it seemed to me very strange that he should make such a request if he thought me so notoriously a bad citizen as to injure my character as a Christian minister."

The next development in this remarkable drama was the order issued by the military for the banishment of Dr. McPheeters and his wife from the State of Missouri. That order reads as follows:

OFFICE PROVOST-MARSHAL GEN'L, DEP'T OF THE MISSOURI,
St. Louis, Mo., December 19, 1862.

[SPECIAL ORDER NO. 152.]

WHEREAS, On account of unmistakable evidence of sympathy with the rebellion on the part of Rev. Samuel B. McPheeters, pastor of the Pine Street Church, certain loyal members of his congregation, about six months since, urged him to avow his sentiments openly, and to take a stand in favor of the Government, which he has refused to do, and has also published and circulated two letters within the last two weeks in which he not only refuses to declare whether he is in favor of the success of the authorities of the nation in their efforts to put down a cruel and desolating rebellion, and has failed to remove a wide-spread and increasing impression that he desires the success of the rebel cause; and, whereas, the said McPheeters, acting with others of the same denomination, has used all the influence of his ministerial character to prevent the body of the Church with which he is connected from declaring or manifesting its loyalty to the Government, and has refused to observe, in their obvious meaning and intent, the recommendations of the President of the United States to the various churches, and has allowed the influence of his wife, his brothers and intimate associates to seduce him from an open and manly support of the Government into active sympathy with the rebellion, whereby the influence of his ministerial position has greatly encouraged the enemies of the Government in their wicked schemes for its overthrow, and is still exerting an injurious influence, especially upon the youth and other members of his congregation, leading them to believe that he sympathizes with the rebels and justifies their cause, and to adopt sentiments of hostility to the Government and to become active rebels; and, whereas, in all his course of unfriendliness to the Government, and sympathy with, and favor to, rebels, the said McPheeters has been stimulated and encouraged, if not led on, by his wife, who openly avows herself a rebel; whereby the said McPheeters and his wife have forfeited the right to the protection and favor of the Government in their present position, and have become promoters of rebellion and civil discord. Therefore, it is ordered that the said McPheeters and his wife leave the State of Missouri, within ten days after the service of this order, and that they take up their residence within the Free States, north of Indianapolis and west of Pennsylvania, and remain there during the war, and that said McPheeters cease from this date to exercise the functions of his office within the State of Missouri, and that he deliver to the Clerk of Pine Street Church all books, records and papers belonging to the Church.

It is further ordered that the church edifice, books and papers, at the corner of Eleventh and Pine streets, be placed under the control of three loyal members of Pine Street Church, namely: George P. Strong, James M. Corbett and John M. Ferguson, who shall see that its pulpit be filled by a loyal minister of the Gospel, who can invoke the blessing of the Head of the Church upon the efforts of the Government to re-establish its authority.

By command of Major-General Curtis.

F. A. DICK,
Provost-Marshal General Dep't of Missouri.

The New York *Express*, after reciting the order of banishment against Dr. McPheeters, remarks:

Such an order, unaccompanied by a single proof of any one of its allegations, naturally excites the indignation of loyal people. The *Journal* speaks of it in terms of "astonishment and abhorrence." There is no charge that this banished minister has taught treason, or that he has committed any crime known to the law. There is no evidence that he is a rebel, or in sympathy with the rebellion. All that he has done is, as a Presbyterian minister, in the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, he has used the influence of his ministerial character to prevent that body from taking political action, and also, as a servant of Christ, refused to take any part whatever in the contest which divides the Church, his city and his country. Even the accusations against him come from a very small minority of Abolitionists in the Church. The large majority concur with their pastor, who claim, as does the minister himself, that he has thought it wise to use the Sabbath not to preach war and politics, but the gospel of Christ. The banishment of such a man is a dishonor to the Provost-Marshal and to the government which he misrepresents. If the Provost-Marshal acted upon the order of Gen. Curtis, the dishonor falls upon him. Mr. Lincoln and his wife each attend a Presbyterian Church in Washington, not unlike the one in St. Louis, and their pastor is just as amenable to arrest as this minister in St. Louis, for there the gospel, and not war or politics, as we have been told, is preached. Let Mr. Lincoln, as President of the United States, think of such an outrage committed on the person of Rev. Dr. Gurley in Washington. What is here done is to declare that the Presbyterian Church is amenable to military law, and the advocating in its Sessions of the doctrine that the Church owes allegiance to God, and not to any earthly power, is made the cause of military punishment! A clergyman in the sanctuary of the Church is threatened with military punishment if he dare uphold the doctrine that his Church owes only the allegiance which Paul and John, and the dead saints and martyrs of all countries and ages, members of one and the same Church, owe.

The *Journal of Commerce*, referring to the charge, in the military order of banishment, that Dr. McPheeters neglected "the recommendation of the President to the various Churches" to perform certain prayers, remarks:

Is it America? Is this the nineteenth century? Do men imagine that God is to be worshiped in compulsory forms in this country? If Mr. Lincoln approves this act, he would do well at once to import a quantity of Chinese praying machines, put his proclamation in them, and set them at work with Provost-Marshals, to grind out prayers for the nation.

The *Leader*, a British Canadian journal, in the course of a review of the several charges against Dr. McPheeters in the military order, remarks:

This remarkable theologico-military indictment and adjudication is manifestly framed with a view to *dodge* the responsibility of making false charges, and at the same time to create the impression that a charge of some crime against the State deserving of banishment is really hidden under this mass of verbiage. A very simple analysis, however, into formal and tangible specifications makes it manifest that Dr. M'Pheeters' whole crime consists in having, with fidelity to his principles as a minister of Christ, whose "kingdom is not of this world," and fidelity to his principles as an American citizen, refused, as his Master did under similar circumstances, to prostitute his official position to the purposes of partisan zeal.

Now, observe, it is not even charged that Dr. M'Pheeters ever avowed himself against the government, much less committed any act of hostility against the government. This would have been too notoriously a falsehood. Dr. McPheeters never was, as we are informed, even in opinion, a secessionist, properly so-called; but, so far as he expressed any opinions privately, as a citizen, concurred mainly with the great Democratic party in the North, and was, therefore, as justly liable to banishment on that score as any one of the millions of Democrats—no more, no less. It is certainly high time that these Democrats, who have freed themselves from the yoke in the North, should be looking after their brethren in the Border States, also, who are thus suffering martyrdom for the same faith.

In regard to the second specification, that Dr. McPheeters used "his influence to prevent the body of the Church with which he is connected from declaring or manifesting its loyalty—that is, that he made a speech in his Presbyterian General Assembly against a political judgment by that body—a Briton who has heard the patronizing sympathy of Americans for his sad condition under a Church and State government may hardly suppress a smile. How oddly would the proposition strike a Scotchman or an Englishman, that a minister should be banished for the crime of having made a speech in General Assembly of the Kirk or in Convocation against an ecclesiastical deliverance.

But the most remarkable point made by Mr. Lincoln's military court as "a ground of banishment" is yet to be noticed. Dr. McPheeters has been stimulated and encouraged by *his wife*, who openly avows herself a "rebel!" This is, we confess, to us, a novel ground for the banishment of a man—*his wife* is a rebel! We have heard before, but only as an illustration of the ignorance of Virginia justices in the old times of the whipping-post—of a magistrate who sentenced a citizen to twenty lashes because his wife stole wool, from a misapplication of the principle of the husband's responsibility for the acts of his wife. But never till now have we supposed that this novel application of the doctrine of the husband's responsibility was current in American military courts!

In perfect consistency with all that precedes, and with the suggestion of the *Journal of Commerce*, Dr. M'Pheeters' church, records of Church Sessions and all, are ordered into the possession of "three loyal members," with instructions, in effect, to turn the establishment into a praying machine for "invoking the blessing of the Head of the Church on the efforts of the government," &c. Of course, consistency demands next the issue of an "Order No. 3," supplementary to this, requiring every man and *his wife* and child to visit the praying machine, every Sunday at least, under pain of banishment; for, in the new theory of religion, of what use are the prayers if no audience is present to be made *loyal*, or preserved in their *loyalty*, by them?

The Session of Pine Street Church held a regular meeting on the 20th of December, 1862. Present: Elders Jno. Whitehill, Wm. T. Wood, Alex. Marshall, David K. Ferguson and Wm. W. Greene. A note was received from the pastor, in which he says, "A military order, which you have, no doubt, seen, is the cause of my not being with you this evening. I enclose a copy of said order." On the reading of which communication and order it was unanimously resolved—

1. By the Standards and Constitution of the Presbyterian Church, the government and discipline of the Church is in the Session of the Church, composed of the Pastor and Elders, chosen and elected by the people; and

the Session only has, or can have, the rightful custody and control of the church edifice and books and papers of the Church.

2. The Constitution of the Church provides for the selection of pastors and ministers, and only in the modes provided can a pastor or minister be appointed or elected for any church or congregation. All power and control in the selection of pastors and ministers is, by our Constitution, denied to the civil or other government, or other human power outside of the Church.

3. As members of this Session, we are under solemn vows to obey and maintain the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church; and whilst we yield obedience to said military order, and surrender, so far as we have possession and custody, our church edifice, books and papers to the control of the individuals indicated—to-wit: George P. Strong, James M. Corbitt and John M. Ferguson, a sense of duty constrains us to record our convictions that the necessary effect of the order is to suspend, while the order is in force, organized church action.

4. We earnestly urge and entreat all the members of the Church not to suffer this sore affliction to scatter our little flock, but to maintain steadfastly their present relations with Pine Street Church, and, in faith and trust and Christian patience, await the return of the day when, in God's providence, the possession and control of our church edifice, and the government and discipline of the Church, shall be restored to us, to be used and exercised in accordance with the Constitution and Standards of the Presbyterian Church.

5. We know not on what evidence the military authorities acted, as their order affects our pastor, the Rev. Samuel B. McPheeters, and intend no impeachment of their action; but, adhering to our pastor as we do, and as our solemn vows require of us, a sense of duty impels us to bear our testimony to his rare talents and efficiency as a minister and to his faithfulness as a pastor. We have been on terms of most familiar intercourse with him. We believe more than four-fifths of the church and congregation would unite with us in this utterance. We commend him to the sympathy and affection of God's people, wherever he may go or sojourn in his involuntary wanderings from the people of his charge, whom he so much loves.

6. We have no purpose in these resolutions to criticise the order of the military referred to; our only aim has been to declare our views of our powers and duty as a Church Session in the circumstances that surround us.

On December 28th, 1862, the following paper was placed in

Dr. McPheeters' hands: "The order made against you, on the 19th December, is modified, until further orders, to this extent: that you are not required to leave the State."

The Session met once more, on March 10th, 1863. Military order, No. 25, dated 4th March, 1863, was read. That order is as follows:

Special Order, 152, Par. II, of date of 19th December, 1862, relating to the Pine Street Presbyterian Church, is hereby further modified, as follows: It appearing that Messrs Strong, Corbitt and Ferguson have not taken charge of the church edifice, books and papers, so much of said order as directed them to do so is now rescinded.

By order of Maj.-Gen'l S. R. CURTIS.

F. A. DICK,
Lieut.-Col. and Provost-Marshal-General.

At this meeting, a letter, written by George P. Strong, James M. Corbitt and J. M. Ferguson, was read to the Session. Whereupon it was

Resolved, That the aforesaid military order, and the letter of George P. Strong and others, and all other matters and things relating to the condition of the Church, be referred to a committee of three to consider and report upon to Session at its next meeting.

The Moderator appointed on said committee Elders Wood, Marshall and Greene.

The Session met again on March 12th, 1863. The report of the committee appointed at last meeting was called for and read. It recites in part that

From the 20th December, the day Session acted on the subject, up to about the last of February thereafter, the church edifice was regarderd as under the control of the Military Committee by the Sexton, the Session, and a large majority of the congregation, and, indeed, by all persons as far as known to members of Session.

The order from Mr. Strong, on the 20th of December, to lock up the church, was without consultation with the Session or any member of it. Some days after this a room in the basement, known as the Pastor's Study, and used for Sunday School purposes, was placed in the possession of some ladies for sewing purposes; and from about or near the same time ministers were provided for the pulpit every Sabbath, and Wednesday evening prayer meetings were kept up in the basement. A choir was also provided, to whom the regular church choir felt that they were constrained to give place. All this was without authority from the Session, and without consultation with them. And all this the Session supposed was done by order of the Military Committee, until on Saturday, about the last of February, when Mr. Strong informed one of the members of the Session that he, as well as the other two named on the Military Committee, had, with the consent of Gen. Curtis and Col. Dick, declined to act as a Military Committee, and had not so acted, and that all that had been done in and with the Church had been done by them, of their own choice, as members of the Church, claiming a right so to act as such. This was on Saturday. On the next day, Sunday, without authority from the Session, the Rev. Mr. McCune, then occupying the pulpit, also without such authority, announced a meeting of the Church and congregation for Wednesday evening then next following, the fourth day of March.

It now appears from Military Order No. 25, as well as from the letter of Mr. Strong and others, that the gentlemen named in the first Order as a Committee declined to act as such. It, therefore, becomes a question—a grave question—how far our Constitution and Standards will furnish authority for the acts, such as have been specified, of members of a Church, merely as such, and in a small minority?

At a meeting of Pine Street Session, on March 19, Elder Strong gave notice of protest against the adoption of the report of the committee and the resolutions at the last meeting of Session, and asked further time to prepare such protest, which was granted without objection.

When Session met, pursuant to adjournment, on March 28, Elder Strong offered and read his protest against the action of the Session of March 12, and asked that the same be recorded in the Minutes of the Session. He also presented a petition, signed by fifty-two members of the Church and congregation, asking that a meeting of the Church and congregation be called by the Session as early as notice can be given.

Thursday, April 2, 1863. Session met pursuant to adjournment. The protest of Elder George P. Strong was recorded and Messrs. Wood, Marshall and Greene appointed a committee to answer the same.

On April 8th the Session met to hear the report of the committee and to appoint a delegate to represent this church in St. Louis Presbytery, to meet at Warrenton, Mo., on Friday, 10th instant. Elder Greene was elected principal and Elder Whitehall alternate.

Pursuant to adjournment, the Session of Pine Street Church met once again, on April 9th, 1863, at five o'clock. Elder Wood offered a letter, prepared for presentation to Presbytery, asking decision and instruction on the following points:

1. That meetings of the Church and congregation, to decide matters affecting the interests of the Church and binding on the Church, can only be regularly called by the Session or some higher judicatory.

2. That the Session should call the Church and congregation together whenever, in their judgment, the interests of the Church would be promoted by so doing.

3. That it is the duty of the Session to convene the Church and congregation when a majority of the persons entitled to vote in the matter coming before such a meeting shall, by a petition, request that a meeting be called. [Form of Government, Chap. XV., Sec. 1.]

We respectfully ask your reverend body to tell us if we are correct in this exposition of the Constitution, as given above, and to make such further deliverance in the matter as in your judgment is proper, and to give us notice in time to prevent the evil feared from the meeting called for Wednesday evening next. By regarding our petition we believe you will promote peace and unity in our Church; and may the blessing and guidance of the Head of the Church rest upon you and us.

Resolutions adopted unanimously by the Presbytery of St. Louis, in session at Warrenton, Mo., April 10th, 1863, in answer to Memorial of the Session of Pine Street Presbyterian Church, dated 8th April, 1863:

1. That meetings of the Church and congregation to decide matters affecting the *spiritual* interests of the Church can only be regularly called by the Session or some higher judicatory.

2. That the Session should call the Church and congregation together whenever, in their judgment, the spiritual interests of the Church would be promoted by so doing.

3. That it is the duty of the Session to convene the Church and congregation when a majority of the persons entitled to vote on the matter coming before such a meeting shall, by a petition, request that a meeting be called. [Form of Government, Chap. XV., Sec. 1.]

It must be remembered that the military authorities had not, as yet, ventured upon those extreme measures toward all "suspected" ministers of the Gospel which were afterward adopted. Hence the Presbytery which met at Warrenton was composed not simply of members who held to the Erastian theory, but of others beside, who earnestly contended for the crown rights of Jesus Christ. Consequently, in answer to the petition (which contained the issues between the minority and a majority of Pine Street Session), Presbytery vindicated the doctrine of the Church's Standards. But, notwithstanding this decision, George P. Strong, at the call of a minority of the congregation, proceeded to hold a congregational meeting, and otherwise effected his purposes.

During this whole period Dr. McPheeters was anxious to meet his accusers face to face. But the privilege was peremptorily denied. "A military court pronounced an ecclesiastical sentence, and having virtually deposed the pastor, proceeds to order his banishment from the State." Great credit is due to those members of the Session of Pine Street Church who remained true to Constitutional Presbyterianism in the day of fiery trial. It was through the instrumentality of these "faithful ones" that the facts of the case, freed from sophistry, were kept distinctly before the minds of the people. And it was during this struggle "that the efforts and schemes of the active agents of the persecution to procure control of the church edifice, books, &c., as well as the congregation itself, were fearfully developed. In these efforts and schemes, assuming that the pastor was chained hand and foot by the military, and Elders and people in daily apprehension of arrest and trouble, they tried many projects and expedients and devices, which, if they had not been met with much caution and prudence by the members of the Session and people, would have been successful."

CHAPTER IX.

DR. M'PHEETERS PUTS HIS RESIGNATION INTO THE HANDS OF PRESBYTERY—WHY?—ERASTIAN VIEWS OF NORTHERN ASSEMBLY.

As early as December 23, 1862, the pastor determined to visit Washington City and submit the whole question in person to the Chief Magistrate of the nation. In connection with the preparations for this visit, Mrs. McPheeters, the esteemed widow of the deceased, remarks: "I mentioned once or twice, in conversation with you, an incident that occurred among a number of others during those dark days of trial in St. Louis, that impressed my mind as much as any other (owing to all the surrounding circumstances) of the intense conviction my husband had of the truth and importance of those principles for which, in the providence of God, he was made to act and suffer a more conspicuous part than his retiring nature would otherwise have allowed him to do.

"In the Order of Banishment, he was given ten days to make his arrangements to leave the State. After consulting with his excellent Session, and a few wise friends, he determined to go to Washington, and appeal in person to Mr. Lincoln. In order to get such an interview he must needs have some one to introduce him who could get access to the President at once, since his time was short.

"Attorney-General Bates had always been a warm personal friend, and, deciding to appeal through him, he went down the evening before he was to start, accompanied by his friend, Mr. J. B. Alexander, to the house of Gov. Gamble, brother-in-law to Mr. Bates, to get the Attorney-General's address. He got it and was about to leave when the Governor said, 'Wait, and I will give you a letter to Mr. Bates.' He took it and thanked the Governor. When he reached home, however, he talked over the contents of the letter with Mr. Alexander and Mr. D. K. Ferguson, and was greatly troubled; for in it the Governor took the ground (and on this ground *simply* asked for my husband's release) that he knew Dr. McPheeters not only to be loyal, but a man of perfect integrity and faithfulness in all obligations. My husband argued thus: 'Should I go to Washington and present this letter I shall obtain my release at once, without opening my mouth, but I shall then give up the principles for which I have been contending, and the maintaining of which has been the occasion of my pulpit being taken from me. Should I, however, decline to present it when I get to Washington, and say nothing about it, then, too, should a release be obtained, Gov. Gamble will be under a false impression.

"'No, I will defer my start for the National Capital till to-morrow, though my tickets are secured. I will take the letter back in the morning and run the risk of losing the Governor's friendship, much as I need all my friends now. I'll thank him for his kindness.' Having resolved, he waited, without sleeping and in great excitement, until the omnibus came at two o'clock a. m. He called the driver and engaged a seat for the following day. As early in the morning as practicable my husband went to the Governor's office and asked to see him. He handed him his kind letter and thanked him for it, but told him that it was not for his personal release that he was going to Washington, but that he might appeal to Mr. Lincoln against the authority of the military to control the Church, or to dictate to its ministers what they should teach from its pulpit. The Governor looked at him in silence for a few moments, and then exclaimed, 'Do you think that you will be able to make Lincoln see that?' He replied, 'I don't know, but I am going to Washington to try.' The Governor's reply was, 'Go, and God be with you.' He went, and the result you know."

Here, then, was an opportunity for the man, McPheeters, to escape from the hardships inseparable from military banishment. Only allow the contest to become an affair of "private interpretation," and let influential friends plead the virtues of the persecuted, and in a few days peace and liberty shall be restored. But this noble witness for the truth responds, No. "I am nothing; the truth and my Master's honor—*these* are everything." Nor were these the words of a fanatic. For, says Dr. McPheeters again, "It is true enough that the servants of Christ should be willing not only to go into exile, but to the stake for His truth. But it is equally true that those who have grace enough to be martyrs should have sense enough not to court martyrdom upon any but a fair issue. Even a man with the spirit of a martyr might wish to know before matters went to extremes if those at whose hands he was to suffer were acting under a totally wrong impression, and if he would have an opportunity of explaining his case in his own way, and dying, if die he must, for the Lord's truth, and not for some man's falsehood. And, beside all that, the call to martyrdom should be a call from Christ and not from those of whom there was good reason to believe that they were not uttering His voice nor the voice of His people."

In reference to the Order of Banishment an influential Northern journal of that date says:

> The case of Dr. McPheeters reveals not only shameless treatment of that devoted minister, but also fearful insult of the "Great King," and an

ignominious betrayal of the purity of His Bride—the Church. In Missouri General Rosecrans did not allow any religious bodies, except the Romanists, to assemble until they had qualified themselves for transacting the business of the Church by obeying his orders—by taking an oath. George P. Strong, an Elder, and one Rev. J. Jermain Porter prevailed on the Provost-Marshal-General of Missouri to send a military officer to the Presbytery of St. Louis for the purpose of preventing any minister or Elder from sitting in that court of Jesus Christ unless additionally qualified by having taken Rosecrans' oath. And these same men, Strong and Porter, obtained from the Provost the promise that he would arrest any member of the Presbytery who should move to lay political resolutions on the table. One Colonel Livingston, in command at Batesville, Arkansas, drew up and furnished to the ministers in that region a form of prayer which he *commanded* them "to use or they must cease to preach." "It is well to remember," says the *New York Journal of Commerce* of that date, "that the policy of the administration party has been to compel prayer for specific results, and to denounce as traitors all who refuse to pray for blessings on the peculiar policy of the President. Prayer has been forced at the point of the bayonet. The words are literally true. The party in power has steadily insisted that the clergy should pray for the success of abolition schemes. Clergymen have been subjected to military seizure when they declined to pray for blessings on the peculiar 'means in favor with the abolitionists.' Soldiers have been detailed to churches to see that the prayers were properly worded. The priest has been arrested at the altar and taken away to prison for omitting a particular form of prayer. The kingdom of heaven is not taken by violence of this sort."

But did the Northern General Assembly ever adopt Erastian views? Did her deliverances subordinate in any degree the Headship of Jesus Christ to the authority of Cæsar? Let the appeal be made to history. The Northern Assembly, at its Sessions in Philadelphia, in 1861, by a vote of one hundred and fifty-four to sixty-six, adopted what is known as "The Spring Resolutions." The second resolution reads as follows:

> *Resolved*, That this General Assembly, in the spirit of that Christian patriotism which the Scriptures enjoin, and which has always characterized this Church, do hereby acknowledge and declare our obligation to promote

and perpetuate, so far as in us lies, the integrity of these United States, and to strengthen, uphold and encourage the Federal Government in the exercise of all its functions, under our noble Constitution; and to this Constitution, in all its provisions, requirements and principles, we profess our unabated loyalty. And to avoid all misconception, the Assembly declares that by the term Federal Government, as here used, is not meant any particular Administration, or the peculiar opinions of any particular party, but that Central Administration which, being at any time appointed and inaugurated according to the forms prescribed in the Constitution of the United States, is the visible representative of our national existence.

Thus it will be perceived that a court of the Lord Jesus undertakes to settle authoritatively, by a single resolution, a great political question, which had divided the minds of eminent statesmen, North and South, since the very foundation of the Government. Were there any foreshadowings of Erastianism here? Dr. Charles Hodge and fifty-seven others thought so, and, accordingly, entered their solemn protest:

We, the undersigned, respectfully protest against the action of the General Assembly . . . because we deny the right of the General Assembly to decide the political question, to what Government the allegiance of Presbyterians, as citizens, is due, and its right to make that decision a condition of membership in our Church. That the paper adopted by the Assembly does decide the political question just stated, in our judgment, is undeniable. It not only asserts the loyalty of this body to the Constitution and the Union, but it promises, in the name of all the Churches and ministers whom it represents, to do all that in them lies to strengthen, uphold and encourage the Federal Government.

It is, however, a notorious fact, that many of our ministers and members conscientiously believe that the allegiance of the citizens of this country is primarily due to the States to which they respectively belong; and, therefore, that whenever any State renounces its connection with the United States, and its allegiance to the Constitution, the citizens of that State are bound, by the laws of God, to continue loyal to their State and obedient to its laws. The paper adopted by the Assembly virtually declares, on the other hand, that the allegiance of citizens is due to the United States, any thing in the Constitution, ordinances or laws of the several States to the contrary notwithstanding. . . . . . It is the allegiance of the Old School Presbyterian Church to the Constitution and the Federal Government which this paper is intended to profess and proclaim. It does, therefore, of necessity, decide the political question which agitates the country. This is a matter clearly beyond the jurisdiction of this House. . . . . . The General Assembly, in thus deciding a political question, and in making that decision practically a condition of membership of the Church, has, in our judgment, violated the Constitution of the Church and usurped the prerogative of its Divine Master.

The action of the Assembly of 1862 has already been noticed in part. It was in that Assembly that Dr. R. J. Breckinridge openly charged Dr. McPheeters with disloyalty, and sent forth to the country a paper remarkable, most of all, for its marvelous fertility of denunciatory epithet hurled against the "Christian people throughout all the revolted States." Messrs. A. H. Dumont and B. R. Allen protest, as follows:

While assenting to all the principles asserted in this paper, dissent from what they solemnly and conscientiously believe, that in this deliverance the Assembly has contravened the 31st Article, 4th section, of the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church, in its spirit and in its words."

Dr. Stuart Robinson, Dr. S. B. McPheeters and J. S. Vredenburg protest

That in this paper—solemnly speaking in the name of Christ and by the authority given to the Spiritual Courts—as it seems to us, sundry propositions concerning civil matters are handled and concluded, directly or indirectly, that are forbidden to the ecclesiastical courts, in chapter 31, section 4, of the Confession of Faith. We understand this article of the creed to be not merely an advice of what is expedient, but a brief summing up of the fundamental truths of Presbyterianism. . . . . . . Among these truths are the propositions that there are two distinct and complete governments divinely appointed for man—one, the civil government, from the Lord Christ, as the King of nations; and the other, the ecclesiastical government, from the Lord Christ, as King of saints. That these two jurisdictions, though to some extent over the same subjects, are ordained of Christ to be kept distinct. . . . . . That as the power of the sword, committed to the civil government, may not be used to do the spiritual work of the Church, so, on the other hand, the power of the keys, and the agencies and ordinances of the Church government may not be prostituted to the promotion of merely secular and political purposes. • . . . . . On these general considerations we protest against certain assumptions, which seem to us to be necessarily implied in parts of this paper, of a right in the Assembly to handle and conclude certain questions of fact in the civil and political history of the country; to pronounce upon the question of the duty of the National Government in reference to its civil and military policy; and to declare "loyalty" to be, in common with "orthodoxy and piety," an attribute of the Church and its courts. This use of the authority of the spiritual government to determine these questions of political history is contrary to Scripture, rendering unto Cæsar the things that are God's; and the assumption of authority to pronounce upon the duty of the National Government, is equally contrary to the Scripture that enjoins on the Church not *dictation to*, but "subjection to the powers that be."

Rev. A. P. Forman and four others present an able protest, in which, among other things admirably put, they say:

We deny the right of the Assembly, in the name and by the authority of the Lord Christ, to decide any questions or to utter, as truth, any things not contained in the Bible. We are limited, as a Church Court, in our authoritative teachings, by the Scriptures. Now, the paper adopted seems to assume that the primary allegiance of the citizen belongs to the National Government. Whatever we may believe about this as a political dogma, yet it is a question which can not be settled by an appeal to the Scriptures, and must depend on an interpretation of a human instrument. So the statement of certain political facts depends on evidence neither in the Scriptures nor in documents in the possession of this Assembly. Furthermore, the counsel of this paper, as to the duty of the Government to preserve, at whatever cost, the National Union, and to crush force by force, is counsel which we, as a Church Court, are not authorized, either by the Bible or by special inspiration, in the name and by the authority of Christ, to give. . . . . . .

The idea seems to underlie the paper adopted, that the Church owes allegiance to the State, for it speaks of "loyal Presbyteries and Synods," "loyal Church," etc. The citizen owes allegiance to the State and is bound to uphold the civil government; but the Church, as such, owes allegiance only to the Lord Jesus; His kingdom is the only kingdom she is bound to uphold, hence she can be loyal only to her own King.

The Northern Assembly met, in 1863, at Peoria, Illinois. It held its sessions beneath the folds of the national banner. This judicatory also proceeded to adopt a "deliverance" upon the "state of the country." It reads thus:

> It is well known, on the one hand, that the General Assembly has ever been reluctant to repeat its testimonies upon important matters of public interest; but having given utterance to carefully considered words, is content to abide calmly by its recorded deliverances. Nothing that this Assembly can say can more fully express the wickedness of the rebellion that has cost so much blood and treasure; can declare in plainer terms the guilt, before God and man, of those who have inaugurated or maintained or countenanced, for so little cause, this fratricidal strife; or can more impressively urge the solemn duty of the government to the lawful exercise of its authority; and of the people, each in his several place, to uphold the civil authorities, to the end that law and order may again reign throughout this entire nation—than these things have already been done by previous Assemblies. . . . .
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> But, on the other hand, it may be well for this General Assembly to reaffirm, as it now solemnly does, the great principles to which utterance has already been given. We do this the more readily because our beloved Church may be thus understood to take her deliberate and well chosen stand, free from all imputations of haste or excitement. . . . .
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> And because there are those among us who have scruples touching the propriety of any deliverance of a Church court respecting civil matters, this Assembly would add, that all strifes of party politics should indeed be banished from our Ecclesiastical Assemblies and from our pulpits; that Christian people should earnestly guard against promoting partisan divisions: and that the difficulty of accurately deciding, in some cases, what are general and what party principles, should make us careful in our judgment; but that our duty is none the less imperative to uphold the constituted authorities, because minor delicate questions may possibly be involved. Rather, the sphere of the Church is wider and more searching touching matters of great public interest than the sphere of the civil magistrate, *in this important respect*—that the civil authorities can take cognizance only of overt

acts, while the law of which the Church of God is the interpreter searches the heart and makes every man subject to the civil authority for conscience sake, &c. . . . . Officers may not always command a citizen's confidence; measures may by him be deemed unwise; earnest, lawful efforts may be made for changes he may think desirable; but no causes now exist to vindicate the disloyalty of American citizens toward the United States Government.

The General Assembly would not withhold from the Government of the United States that expression of cordial sympathy which a loyal people should offer. We believe that God has afforded us ample resources to suppress this rebellion, &c. . . . . . And this Assembly is ready to declare our unalterable attachment and adherence to the Union established by our fathers, and our unqualified condemnation of the rebellion; to proclaim to the world, the United States, one and undivided, as our country; the lawfully chosen rulers of the land, our rulers; the Government of the United States, our civil government; and its honored flag, our flag.

CHAPTER X.

STATEMENT OF DOCTRINES AND PRINCIPLES.

In opposition to Erastian views, Dr. McPheeters held to the unity, purity, spirituality and independence of the Church of God. He was willing to suffer and, if need be, to die in defense of the crown rights of Jesus Christ. At the memorable discussion between Dr. S. R. Wilson and Dr. R. J. Breckinridge, on the floor of the Kentucky Synod, Dr. McPheeters was present, and he frequently declared that the argument of the former was unanswerable—that in the debate he gained a signal victory over his opponent. Dr. Wilson also asserts that in the conflict of those days he was greatly comforted and encouraged by the counsels and approbation of the Rev. Dr. McPheeters. And it will be remembered that the statements made by Dr. Wilson in the hearing of that Synod had already been embodied in the "Declaration and Testimony," of which Dr. McPheeters was a signer.

Still later, a letter from the Synod of Kentucky was forwarded to the General Assembly which met in Nashville on the 21st of November, 1867. This communication was prepared by a committee whose business it was to "report a carefully considered statement of the doctrines and principles for which this Synod and its Presbyteries have been contending in the controversies with the General Assembly North during seven years past—particularly the principles maintained by this Synod in the interpretation of our standards touching the non-political nature and functions of the Church, the limitations of the powers of the General Assembly, and the incompetency of any court of the Church to add to or subtract from the terms of ministerial and Christian communion—with a view to lay the same before the General Assembly to be holden in Nashville in November, as the basis of a covenant upon which this Synod may form an organic union with that body."

The manuscript of this letter, paragraph by paragraph, passed under the critical inspection of Dr. McPheeters, and he endorsed most heartily every sentiment which it contains. It will, therefore, be well to consider for a moment the statement of doctrines and principles for which the Synod of Kentucky and its Presbyteries have contended in the controversies with the General Assembly, as adopted by the Synod October 11, 1867:

II. Still further, to the end that the testimony of this Synod and its Presbyteries may be more clearly understood, and to guard it from the perversions and misrepresentations of their adversaries, it is hereby declared, once for all, that in their various protests and testimonies against the acts and deliverances of Assembly just recited, the Synod and its Presbyteries of Kentucky have not meant, "as they be slanderously reported," to deny any of the following propositions:

Either, First—To deny that civil government is the ordinance of God, and the magistrate God's minister, in the natural order, as are the Church officers, in the spiritual order, for the protection of the good and the repressing of the lawless and wicked.

Or, Second—To deny that the Church may not properly enjoin obedience in the discharge of their duties, as citizens and subjects, to the civil government within its sphere.

Or, Third—To deny that the State, as a *natural institute*, should acknowledge "God the King and Ruler," as he makes himself known to the State in the natural order, and to man as his creature, "showing the work of the law written in his heart, his conscience also bearing witness, and who may clearly see His eternal power and Godhead by the things that are made."

Or, Fourth—That the State may enforce the law of God as made known in the natural order, through the impressions of man's moral nature, and the ethical truths clearly deducible from the acknowledged existence of God the Creator, and the relations to him of man, the creature, whom "the light of nature showeth that there is a God who hath Lordship and Sovereignty over all."

Or, Fifth—That the Church should have cognizance of crimes against the law of the State, as they may be sins against God, which affect, spiritually, the subjects of her spiritual discipline; the Church having in view to restore such a one in the spirit of meekness.

Or, Sixth—To deny that the Church may properly appeal to the civil courts, whose business it is to protect life, liberty and property, for the protection, against the lawless and unjust, of property given in trust to her, as they protect any other property; or that the Church should protest against any intrusion of the civil government into the sphere of the spiritual, which has been assigned by her Head to her jurisdiction.

Neither, again, in respect of the interpretation of the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church, have this Synod and its Presbyteries intended to deny any of the following propositions:

Either, First—To deny that the power of the Supreme Court, representing the power of the whole Church, is, within the limit of Christ's laws, over the power of the lower courts representing a part.

Or, Second—To deny that individual members and lower courts should "receive with reverence and submission" the decrees and determinations of superior councils, "*if consonant to the Word of God,*" "not only for their agreement with the Word, but also for the power whereby they are made, as being an ordinance of God appointed thereunto in His Word."

Or, Third—To deny that the power of the General Assembly, as the power of all other courts and office-bearers, is primarily from Jesus Christ, the Head of the Church, and only in a secondary sense derived from the Constitution; and that only as it is a delegated body are the Presbyteries the fountain of power to the General Assembly.

Neither, again, in respect of the questions which have given occasion for the foregoing acts and utterances of the General Assembly, has this Synod and its Presbyteries felt called upon either to affirm or deny any one of the following propositions:

Either, First—That the political acts of the Southern States were right, or the contrary.

Or, Second—That the course of the Federal Government was just, wise and magnanimous, or the contrary.

Or, Third—That the political theory of State Rights is the true theory of the Federal Constitution, or the contrary.

Or, Fourth—That the institution of slavery was in accordance with natural justice, and in itself desirable, or the contrary.

III. But, as against certain errors involved in the above recited acts and deliverances of the General Assembly—in part, errors of Doctrine concerning the nature and functions of the Church, as related to Christ, her Lawgiver and King, on the one hand, and to the civil government, on the other; in part, errors of interpretation of the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church in the United States; in part, acts of usurpation and claims of prerogatives dangerous to the liberty of the Church and liberty of conscience—as against these errors the Synod of Kentucky and its Presbyteries have affirmed, and now desire to have solemnly recorded, as part of the accepted historical interpretations of the doctrine and order of the Presbyterian Church, the following statements, substantially, concerning the doctrine of the Church of God and the constitutional principles of the Presbyterian Church.

As against what they deem to be latitudinarian, or at least inadequate views of the nature of Church power, which rests directly upon the doctrine that Jesus Christ is now actually ruling in His visible Church, and acting through His appointed office-bearers, they have maintained:

1. CONCERNING THE DOCTRINE OF THE KINGSHIP OF CHRIST, AND THE MANNER IN WHICH CHRIST EXECUTETH THE OFFICE OF A KING IN HIS VISIBLE CHURCH:

That our standards declare in accordance with the Word of God:

"Christ executeth the office of a king in calling out of the world a people to Himself and giving them *officers*, *laws* and *censures* by which HE VISIBLY GOVERNS THEM." [Larger Catechism, Q. 45.]

And that this very clear and explicit statement of the *jure divino* character of all that essentially pertains to the government and discipline of the Church is the true key to all the more detailed statements of our standards concerning Church government, viz.:

That "the Lord Jesus, as King and Head of His Church, hath therein appointed a government distinct from the civil magistrate." And "to these officers the keys of the kingdom of heaven are committed." [Conf. c. xxx.]

That "it belongeth to the overseers and other rulers of the particular churches, by virtue of their office and the power which Christ hath given them, for edification, not for destruction, to appoint such assemblies and to convene together in them." That of these assemblies "the decrees and determinations, if consonant to the Word of God, are to be received with reverence and submission—not only for their agreement with the Word, but also for the power whereby they are made, as being an ordinance of God, appointed thereto." [Conf. chap. xxxi. 1, 2.]

Which several statements, substantially, are more summarily presented in the ancient Confession of the Church in these and like statements:

"This power ecclesiastical is an authority granted by God the Father, through the Mediator Jesus Christ, to His Church, gathered and having its ground in the Word of God.

"The policy of the Church flowing from this power is an order or form of spiritual government which is exercised by the members appointed thereto by the Word of God."

In the light of these doctrinal statements, and as necessary inferences from them, this Synod and its Presbyteries have maintained:

That the doctrine of the kingly office of Christ is no abstract theory of theology, but of the very first practical importance in the Gospel system, since to His office as king His prophetic and priestly offices stand related as means to an end. He is a teaching prophet and an atoning priest that He may be a reigning king. And His kingly office stands related to the government and discipline of the Church as His prophetic and priestly offices to the ordinances of the Word and sacraments. While, indeed, the acceptance of the doctrine of His kingly offices is not essential to the faith that is unto salvation in the sense in which the acceptance of the doctrine of His priestly office as exhibiting our justifying righteousness is essential, yet the obligation to present truly the doctrines of Christ's kingly office in the government and discipline of the Church to the faith of his people is of like force with the obligation to present truly the doctrine of His prophetic and priestly offices in the Word and sacraments.

That, therefore, the avoidance of all admixture of human maxims, policies and expediences in the administration of the government and discipline of the Church is a duty of the same obligation as to avoid the admixture of human philosophies and theories with the dispensation of the Word, or of human fancies with the dispensation of the sacraments.

That it is, therefore, not only incompetent to the Church courts, but positively a perversion of the truth, that they shall assume to consider and determine any other questions than those which relate to the government, order and discipline of Christ's visible kingdom, or to determine these on grounds aside from the Word of God; or to speak in Christ's name and by His authority otherwise than to the faith and conscience of His people concerning things to be obeyed as enjoined by the law of Christ. Since, according to our standards, even though "there are some circumstances concerning the worship of God and government of the Church common to human actions and societies, which are to be ordered by the light of nature and Christian prudence," yet even these "must be ordered according to the general rules of the Word *which are always to be observed.*" [Conf. i. 6.]

That, therefore, the attempt on the part of tribunals of the Church to exercise the authority thus delegated to them by Christ, in determining questions merely secular, concerning which His Word makes no such determination, is "to usurp the prerogatives of the Church's Divine Master," and practically to obscure to the faith of His people the doctrine of His kingly office, just as the attempt to determine by the spiritual authority questions of Christian faith and practice on the ground of human opinions and theories of human expediences is practically to obscure to the faith of His people Christ's prophetic office. For, precisely in harmony with their view of His kingly office in the Church, our standards declare: "Christ executeth the office of a prophet in revealing *to the Church in all ages* by His Spirit and Word *in divers ways of administration the whole will of God* in all things concerning their edification and salvation." [Large Cat. Q. 43.]

In full accordance with these views of the doctrines of Christ's kingly office in His Church, this Synod and its Presbyteries have maintained:

2. Concerning the origin, nature and functions of Church Government as contrasted with and related to the Civil Government.

That, according to our standards, "the visible Church consists of all those throughout the world that profess the true religion, together with their children, and *is the Kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ*, the house and family of God, out of which there is no ordinary possibility of salvation. Unto this Catholic visible Church Christ hath given the ministry, oracles and ordinances of God, for the gathering and perfecting of the saints in this life, to the end of the world, and doth by His own presence and Spirit, according to His promise, make them effectual thereunto. There is no other head of the Church but the Lord Jesus Christ. [Conf. chap. xxv. 1, 2, 6.] And the Lord Jesus Christ, as King and Head of His Church, hath appointed a government in the hand of Church officers, distinct from the civil magistrate. [Conf. chap. xxx. 1.] "These Assemblies ought not to possess any civil jurisdiction. Their power is wholly moral or spiritual, and that only ministerial and declarative." [Form of Gov. chap. viii. 2.] And "these Synods and Councils are to handle or conclude nothing but that which is ecclesiastical, and are not to intermeddle with civil affairs which concern the Commonwealth." [Conf. chap. xxxi. 4.]

And as it is the Lord Christ who, in the execution of His mediatorial office of King "in calling out of the world a people to Himself and giving them officers, laws and censures whereby He visibly governs them," gives the Church power; so, on the other hand, according to our standards:

It is "*God as the supreme Lord and King of the world*, who hath ordained civil magistrates to be under Him over the people for His own glory and the public good, and to this end hath armed them with the power of the sword for the defense and encouragement of them that are good and for the punishment of evil-doers."

But "civil magistrates may not assume to themselves the administration of the Word and Sacraments, or the power of the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, or in the least interfere in matters of Faith." And, as the rule for guidance in this government is, primarily, not the revealed Word, but the light of nature, so "infidelity or difference in religion doth not make void the magistrate's just and legal authority nor free the people from their due obedience to Him." [Conf. chap. xxiii. 3, 4.]

This account of these two separate ordinances of government for men, as differing fundamentally, in that the one is from Christ as Mediatorial King and Head of His elect people, the other from "God the Supreme King and Ruler of the world:" and in that the one contemplates men as sinners, related to God the Savior; the other, men as creatures, related to God the Creator—is thus summarily expressed in the Ancient Confession:

"This power and policy ecclesiastical is different and distinct in its own nature from that power and policy which is called the civil power, and appertains to the civil government of the Commonwealth.

"For this power ecclesiastical flows immediately from God and the Mediator Jesus Christ, and is spiritual."

Furthermore, as these two governments thus differ in their origin, nature and purpose, so, according to our standards, they have, as already intimated, primarily, a different rule to guide their action. As to the rule to guide the Church, it has already been said, "Christ executeth the office of a prophet in revealing *to the Church* in all ages, by His Spirit and Word, in divers ways of administration, the whole will of God in all that concerns their edification and salvation. [Larger Cat. Q. 43.]

So, again, "God alone is Lord of the conscience, and has left it free from the doctrines and commandments of men which are in any thing contrary to His Word, or beside it in matters of faith or worship. [Conf. chap. xx. 2.]

So, again, "The Supreme Judge, by which all controversies of religion are to be determined, and *all decrees of council, opinions of ancient writers, doctrines of men* and private opinions are to be examined, *and in whose sentence we are to rest,* can be no other than the Holy Spirit speaking in Scripture. [Conf. c. i. 6.]

On the other hand, touching the light which all men have as a rule to guide in the administration of civil government, our standards teach, in accordance with the express declaration of Scripture, that:

"*The light of nature* shows that there is a God who hath Lordship and Sovereignty over all; is good and doeth good unto all; and is therefore to be feared, praised, trusted in, and loved with all the heart." [Conf. xxi. 1.]

"*The light of nature* and the works of creation and Providence do so far manifest the goodness, wisdom and power of God as to leave men inexcusable." [Conf. c. i. 1.]

"The Gentiles having not the law are a law unto themselves; which show the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness." [Rom. ii. 12–15.] "Because that which may be known of God is manifest in them, for God hath showed it unto them [Rom. i. 19]; so that they are without excuse."

Some circumstances concerning the worship of God and government of the Church, *common to human actions and societies, are to be ordered by the light of nature.* [Conf. i. 7.]

"Infidelity or difference in religion doth not make void the magistrate's just and legal authority, nor free the people from their due obligations to him." [Conf. xxiii. 4.]

This difference in the rule and the subject matter of the two orders of government, the ancient Confession expresses summarily thus:

"Therefore this power and policie of the Kirk should lean upon the Word immediately as the only ground thereof.

"The magistrate commands external things for external peace and quietness amongst the subjects. The minister handles external things only for conscience sake." "The magistrate handles external things only *and actions done before men*, but the spiritual ruler both inward affections and external actions *in respect of conscience* by the Word of God."

"The magistrate claims and gets obedience by the sword and other external means, but the minister by the spiritual sword and spiritual means."

From these teachings of our standards touching the fundamental difference—in origin, rule of guidance, nature, functions and design—between the spiritual and the temporal power, this Synod and its Presbyteries have maintained as against the assumption of the Church courts on the one hand to entertain and determine questions of civil policy, and of the civil government on the other hand to determine questions of worship and the qualifications of members of Church courts:

That, though both governments are of Divine institution—one immediately, the other mediately—and both may exercise their authority severally over the same persons in different capacities, and both have in view, as their end, the glory of God, yet they move in spheres altogether extrinsic to each other.

That the Church of God is a *supernatural institute*, immediately of supernatural origin and authority, whereas the State is a *natural institute*, only mediately of Divine authority, and growing out of the social constitution for which man was created and fitted.

That the laws and ordinances of the Church are all in the *supernatural* order, directly revealed by the Spirit and Word of Christ to His Kingdom; whereas the laws and ordinances of the State are in the *natural* order, framed and fashioned by the natural intelligence of men, as guided by the light of nature.

That the Church is a supernatural agency for the spiritual interests of man as immortal, here and hereafter; whereas, the State is a natural agency for the promotion of man's temporal interests of life, liberty and property.

That the Church's Lawgiver and Head, speaking through these ordinances and laws by the men whom he calls, qualifies and commissions, is the Lord Jesus Christ; whereas, the head and lawgivers of the State are men—such rulers as the people clothe with authority to represent and rule over them, and who speak in the name of the people.

That the subject of Church government is man contemplated as a sinner; whereas, the subject of civil government is man contemplated as a creature.

That the constituent elements of the Spiritual Commonwealth are the

Elect of God, the families that call upon the name of the Lord, whom Christ covenants to redeem; whereas, the constituent elements of the civil commonwealth are the families of men as citizens indiscriminately, which it aims to protect in their rights by repressing the lawless and wicked.

That the efficient power of the Church is the power of the keys, the ministry of the Word and ordinances, aiming to gain a voluntary obedience by moral suasion; whereas, the efficient power of the State is the power of the sword to enforce a compulsory obedience, having special reference to the repression of the lawless.

That the laws and ordinances of the Church deal with the wrong actions of men as *sins* against God; whereas, the laws and ordinances of the State deal with the wrong actions of men as misdemeanors and crimes against men.

That the laws and ordinances of the Church are in their nature *disciplinary*—a means of grace, and designed to realize the idea of grace; whereas the laws of the State are in their nature *vindicatory* for the suppression of wickedness by an appeal to fear, and are designed to realize the idea of justice.

That, therefore, the Church has manifestly no commission either to discharge any functions of the State, or to direct, advise or assist the State; nor has the Church light in regard to the affairs of the State which the State has not already; nor, since her authority is spiritual, and resting on moral suasion only, has it any adaptation to the purposes of a government force. Neither can the State have any commission from God to discharge the functions of the Church, nor the ability to do so, since, aside from the fact that its compulsory power is inapplicable to things of religion, even though the State may have the advantage of the inspired Word of God current among its citizens to give additional clearness and force to the teachings of nature and reason, yet the State has not the special illumination of the Holy Spirit, which alone can interpret the Word for the purposes of the Church. Nor is anything plainer from experience than that the unconverted statesman, accepting the Word of God intellectually merely, however he may thereby be made wiser as to natural things, is not made more competent to legislate for the Church than though he were merely a refined and enlightened pagan. Nor has anything more certainly tended to enfeeble the spiritual life of the Church than the mistake of courting favor and seeking the alliance of rulers and statesmen, who merely accept intellectually, and, therefore, treat respectfully, the Word of Christ and His ordinances, as though thereby the kingdom of Christ can be strengthened.

Hence this Synod and its Presbyteries have steadfastly protested against and resisted the assumption of authority by the Church courts, to advise, direct and assist the Civil Government in its policy by the exercise of their spiritual authority, or to interpose the power of the spiritual sword for enforcing any theories of social organization, or theories of labor, or political theories, or to direct men as citizens in the choice of their civil policy.

And, on the other hand, they have protested against and resisted every invitation by the Church courts to the State to assume, and every assumption by the State to direct the ordinances of worship in God's house, or to interfere with the conscientious convictions of men, so long as those convictions did not develop themselves in overt acts. For our great civil "act establishing religious freedom" nobly declares, as defining the limits of the civil power: "It is time enough for the rightful purposes of Civil Government for its officers to interfere when principles break out into *overt acts* against peace and good order."

In full accordance, also, with the foregoing views of the doctrine concerning the kingly office of Christ in his Church, this Synod and its Presbyteries have maintained.

3. CONCERNING THE POWERS OF THE SEVERAL COURTS OF THE CHURCH AND THEIR RELATIONS TO EACH OTHER, AND TO THE OFFICE-BEARERS AND PEOPLE.

That, while "It is lawful and agreeable to the Word of God that the Church be governed by several sorts of assemblies, congregational, classical and synodical," that "There should be a subordination of congregational, classical, provincial and national assemblies for the government of the Church." And this for the reason, "That the several different congregations of believers, taken collectively, constitute one Church of Christ, called, emphatically, the Church; and that a larger part of the Church or a representation thereof should govern a smaller, and determine controversies which arise therein." [Form of Gov. chap. xii—note.] That is, that the power of the Assembly representing the whole should be over the power of the Assembly representing a part, yet not so over it as claiming concurrent jurisdiction with it, but simply as appellate and corrective of the exercise of its power. Since the power of the whole is also in every part, and the same promise of the special presence of the Lord Jesus Christ is made to the "two or three" gathered to determine the case of the offending brother, as to the apostolic college representing the whole Church. [Compare Matt. xviii. 15–20 with Matt. xxviii. 20.]

And they have maintained, also, that "All Church power, whether exercised by the body in general or in the way of representation, by delegated authority, is ministerial and declarative, and that all their decisions should be founded upon the revealed will of God." And that "There is much greater danger from the usurped claim of making laws than from the right of judging of laws already made (in the Scriptures) and common to all who profess the gospel." [Form of Gov. chap. i. 7.]

"That the Supreme Judge by which all controversies of religion are to be determined and all decrees of councils are to be examined, and *in whose sentence we are to rest*, can be no other but the Holy Spirit speaking in the Scriptures." [Conf. chap. i. 6.]

That "God alone is Lord of the conscience, and hath left it free from the commandments of men which are in any way contrary to His Word, or beside it in matters of faith and worship. So that to believe such doctrines or to obey such commandment out of conscience is to betray true liberty of conscience; and the requiring an implicit faith and an absolute blind obedience is to destroy liberty of conscience and reason, also." [Conf. chap. xx. 2.]

In the light of these declarations of our standards, taken in connection with those before cited touching the execution of the kingly and prophetic offices of Christ in His visible Church, this Synod and its Presbyteries have maintained, in regard to the acts of the General Assembly against which they have protested:

First. That any acts and deliverances of the Assembly which involve a usurpation of powers by that body not assigned to the General Assembly in the Constitution—which Constitution we hold to be consonant to the Word of God, and therefore to transcend the Constitution is to do also what is contrary to the Word of God—or any acts and deliverances of the Assembly concerning questions of national or other civil policy—these being questions in the natural order, which "God the Supreme Ruler" hath appointed to be determined by the civil magistrate, and questions which the Lord Christ, as king and prophet of the Church, hath not determined in his Word, except as questions of sin and of duty that concern the conscience—all such acts and deliverances are not only in themselves errors as transcending the powers of the Assembly and the sphere of the Church, but also as tending to obscure the great doctrine of the kingly and prophetic offices of Christ as still executed in his visible Church.

That, therefore, while it is a duty to receive with reverence and submission all such decrees as are consonant to the Word, yet such dangerous errors are not only to be silently disregarded as mere "commandments of men, to obey which would be to betray liberty of conscience," but are to be testified against; and all claims of authority resting upon them are to be resisted, and this for the following considerations, to-wit:

That "the Supreme Judge by whom all controversies of religion are to be decided and in whose decision we are to rest," is not the Supreme Court, but "the Holy Spirit speaking in the Scriptures."

That it is the duty, more especially of every office-bearer and court of the Church alike to bear witness to the truth as against error, since to this obligation every office-bearer is held by his ordination vow to study the *purity* as well as the peace of the Church.

That it is expressly enjoined upon the Presbyteries in the Constitution itself thus to bear witness for the truth—being required to "resolve questions of doctrine and discipline and to *condemn erroneous opinions*." Nor is there any limitation to the requirement excluding from consideration any erroneous opinions because uttered by the General Assembly. On the contrary, they must for that very reason condemn the errors, since errors of the General Assembly more directly affect the purity and peace of their churches than the errors of any other.

That not only does the Constitution enjoin it, but the Lord Christ, as we have seen, gives His special promise to be present with the lower court in its act not less than to be present "always" with those representing the whole Church. And there is every reason to hope that the Holy Spirit will use the faithful testimony of the lower court as the means whereby to extend in the Church a revival of love for the truth, and thereby restore it from error.

That, therefore, nothing is more absurd and dangerous to Christian liberty than the conception, by an utterly false analogy, that the office-bearers and lower courts are bound to obey as law, until repealed, an act that is unconstitutional, and, therefore, not consonant to the Word of God, as citizens obey civil acts until repealed. Such a conception could occur only by reason of utter forgetfulness of all that our standards teach concerning liberty of conscience and the non-obligatory character of decrees of councils that are not according to the Word.

That it is an argument of no real force which urges, to the contrary of these views, that they open the door to constant acts of disobedience, resistance and schism in the Church and make Church government impossible. Since, on the one hand, Christ the king reigns still in His visible Church, though His representatives may be unfaithful, and by His Spirit enlightening the minds of His people, He will in His own way and time heal the declensions and dissensions of His Church. And, on the other hand, still more is it true in ecclesiastical than in political governments that "all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable than to right themselves by abolishing forms of government to which they have long been accustomed." The long suffering of this Synod, for seven years past, fully confirms this declaration; and the apparent unwillingness to resist even yet on the part of many who are believed to concur with this Synod, and who at the beginning protested with it against the acts of the General Assembly as violations of the Constitution and a usurpation of the prerogatives of the Church's Divine Master, afford still further melancholy proof of the long suffering of Christian men in bearing with error and usurpation.

And, finally, while maintaining a steadfast opposition to the acts and deliverances of the Assembly already recited, as their testimony for the foregoing general doctrines concerning the Church, this Synod and its Presbyteries have, in the light of these doctrines, maintained the following principles:

4. CONCERNING THE INTERPRETATION OF OUR FORM OF GOVERNMENT AND DISCIPLINE WITH REFERENCE TO THE FUNCTIONS, POWERS AND MUTUAL RELATIONS OF THE COURTS OF THE CHURCH.

First, As to the functions and sphere of the General Assembly and other courts, they have maintained, and desire to have it recognized as the accepted interpretation, that the Constitution of the Church assigns to the General Assembly no function to the end that it may counsel, direct or assist the civil government.

That neither does the Constitution assign to the Assembly any authority to consider and determine—as in the deliverances of 1861, 1862, 1863 and

1864, on the "State of the Country," the Assembly appears, and is understood, to have considered and determined—either:

Questions of the policy of the State touching its citizens, or of the duties of citizens, as such, in respect of the policy of the State;

Or, Questions between different interpretations of the Federal Constitution;

Or, Questions, not of duties toward the recognized Cæasar, but of deciding between rival Cæsars;

Or, Questions as between different theories of allegiance to the Civil Government;

Or, Questions concerning the social structure of different political communities and their systems of labor;

Or, Questions touching the military duties and policy of the National Government, and the duties of citizens to uphold the Government in its policy.

Nor can they regard the pretense set up as a reason for considering and determining such questions—viz.: "That certain civil acts rise up into the region of morals," otherwise than as an utter denial, in the face of our standards, that the State is competent to determine concerning the moral acts of its citizens; and a denial that the State has, in the natural order, any code of morals given of God the Supreme Ruler, through reason and the light of nature, for the judgment of the moral acts of its citizens.

CHAPTER XI.

INTERVIEW WITH MR. LINCOLN—APPEAL TO SYNOD.

Dr. McPheeters, having drawn up a communication to Attorney General Bates, determines not to send the paper, but decides, accompanied by an Elder, to carry the letter in person to Washington. During this visit he held an interview with the President, an account of which shall be given in his own words:

Believing that the history of my banishment from Missouri by the military authorities will hereafter have some interest, as showing the character of the civil war, and the manner in which military men felt authorized to act in regard to the Church of Christ, I have reduced to writing an accurate statement of an interview I had with the President of the United States.

Soon after receiving from Provost-Marshal Col. Dick the order of banishment, I determined to lay the case before the Government, in order that it might not be responsible for what I considered a most gross and unnecessary infringement of the liberty of the Church. My first plan was to draw up a formal protest and send it to the Attorney-General, Mr. Bates, and ask him to present it in such form as would be proper; and I did draw up such a paper addressed to Mr. Bates. Afterward, I determined to go on myself and present the case in person. I left St. Louis on the afternoon of Tuesday, December 23, 1862, and was accompanied by Capt. W. W. Greene, an elder of my church. Owing to not making the necessary connection, we did not reach Washington City until Friday evening, December 26. Immediately upon our arriving, Capt. Greene and myself went to see Judge Bates at his residence. I stated to Mr. Bates, with whom I was acquainted, that the object of my visit to Washington was to lay before him some statements concerning my banishment, and to ask his attention to them, as the law officer of the Government. I did not have the paper designed for him with me, but I handed to him the order of Gen. Curtis, upon reading which he immediately remarked that, being a military order, it did not come in his department—that the proper person to review the matter was the Secretary of War or the President. After some consultation with him I determined, if possible, to bring it before the President, and Mr. Bates was kind enough to agree to get me an interview with the President on the next day, if circumstances would allow; and I was to call at his office, between ten and eleven o'clock the next day, for that purpose.

I had little or no conversation with Mr. Bates that evening on this subject, save that he advised me, in order to save the President's time, and to present my case to my own satisfaction, to draw up what I had to present in writing. This I intended to do, but when I got to my room, finding myself very much exhausted by my journey, I determined to present to the President the paper which I had prepared for the Attorney-General, and which I had with me in Washington. Next morning (Saturday) I went in company with Mr. Bates to the President's house, and after waiting a short time I was admitted to an audience. After the customary salutations the President requested Mr. Bates to remain to the interview, which he agreed to do. I handed to him the order of Gen. Curtis, and told him that I held in my hand a paper which, with his permission, I would proceed to read, as it presented the case which I had to submit. He gave his assent, and I read the paper, only omitting a few sentences of the introduction. After I had finished, the President remarked that Mr. Postmaster-General Blair had given him some letters and papers on the same subject, which had been sent him from St. Louis. It was evident that these letters had prejudiced the President against me, for he remarked, "If this order should be revoked it would be considered a secession triumph." He remarked further, that he had read with care "my card" (published in the *Democrat*). The President then went on to speak of "the rebellion." He said he did not know that it would be put down. He doubted if the Government had the power to suppress it—that the means that were necessary, it seemed, the country would not allow. He went on to speak of Magruder, Gen. Lee, Breckinridge, Morehead and others, who were known to be traitors before they took up arms. They are now the very soul of the rebellion; yet if they had been seized they would have said, "*What have we done?*" and the country would not have sustained him in arresting them. He seemed to think that things were in a sad way in St. Louis. "It is doubtful, from all that I can learn," said he, "whether the United States or Jeff. Davis have most authority in St. Louis," which no little surprised me, and I could not help thinking that he had received strange information as to the state of things in Missouri. The President said to me, "I presume if you were in Jeff. Davis' dominions you would preach and pray differently from what you do here?" I replied, "No, sir; as a minister of the Gospel, I conduct the worship of God's house without reference to human government. I hold that there are two kingdoms—both ordained of God—the State and the Church. I recognize in you the chief officer of the United States. With your duties I do not interfere. I am a minister or officer in Christ's Church, and I do not recognize any authority over me as a minister of the Gospel." He remarked that he had seen that I had performed a most singular baptism in St. Louis; that all he knew about it was learned from "my card." I told him it was true, I had baptized a child, at the parents' request, by the name of Sterling Price, and that in doing this I only followed the Directory of Worship of my Church. Here Attorney-General Bates remarked that in baptizing the child by the name given it by the parents the minister clearly had no option; that I could not have done differently with propriety; that if his pastor should refuse to baptize his child by the name he should select, he should ask the Church courts to try him for neglect of duty. The President made no reply to this, but went on to make some remarks about the State and the Church, saying that the line between them was not very clearly defined, &c. Mr. Bates said that while that was true in some respects, it was clear that the military authorities had no right or power to conduct a Church. He called the President's attention to the fact that my church had been seized by the military, not for a hospital, but for a church, and to be conducted as a church. Mr. Bates further remarked that, as to me personally he had nothing to say, further than that he knew my standing in St. Louis to be of the highest respectability. If, however, he has been guilty, continued Mr. B., of any violation of the law, or any act of hostility to the Government, let him be punished like any other citizen; but it will not do for the Government to allow any such direct interference with the Church as this order of General Curtis seems to contemplate. The President remarked that he did not see that there was any special ground in my case why such an order should have been issued. "It is not charged, as far as appears, that you have violated your oath." I remarked that no such charge had ever been made. He went on to say that those clergymen who had never been in the habit of praying for the Government, their not doing so now would not be cause of suspicion; but where they *had* been in the habit of doing this and now ceased, it would seem to imply something. In the course of the conversation Mr. Lincoln arose from his seat and walking across the room once or twice, said: "There was a difficulty in knowing what to do with such cases, very much like the difficulty that Shylock had in knowing how to get the pound of flesh without the blood." The President seemed to take some interest in the case, and was no little perplexed, apparently, in knowing exactly what to do. The decided impression made on my mind was, that he did not approve of the order, yet he seemed unwilling to revoke it. At last he asked me for the papers and documents connected with it, saying that he would examine into it still further. I gave him my pamphlet, Mr. Strong's letter, as it was published in the *Democrat*, of December 13, and "my card" to the public, as printed in the same paper December 20, also the paper I had read to him, and he filed them away. Seeing that he wished the interview terminated, both Mr. Bates and myself arose to depart. As I arose I remarked to him that the ten days allowed me by the order expired the next day. He said: "As to that, I will protect you until a decision is reached, and Mr. Bates will be my witness if it escapes my memory." I reminded him that the order affected my family as well as myself. He immediately replied: "I will attend to that, too." And taking his pen he wrote a dispatch to General Curtis, which he read to Mr. Bates and myself. It was in these or very similar words: "Suspend the order concerning Dr. McPheeters and family until further orders."

President Lincoln, according to promise, immediately sent a dispatch to Maj.-Gen. Curtis to "suspend the order against Dr. McPheeters until further orders."

Dr. McPheeters reached his home in Missouri on January 2, 1863. On the same day he wrote to Judge Bates, saying, "I found the enclosed order awaiting me, which I send you:

The order made against you on the 19th of December is modified until further orders, to this extent, that you are not required to leave the State.

By order of Maj. Gen. CURTIS.

F. A. DICK,
Lieut.-Col., Provost-Marshal.

"You see that I was not wrong in saying that the telegram of the President would not affect my case. I am not disposed to resist this last order of General Curtis. I shall obey it. But I felt it but proper to let you see how matters stand. I am only sorry that Pine Street Church is to remain closed, and as I see plainly that, first or last, I shall have to leave this State, I only hope to have sufficient time to prepare for my departure, and on that account should like to know the result reached at as early a time as may be."

The order of Curtis, however, was not modified, although it was on this very second day of January that Mr. Lincoln wrote the celebrated letter in which he forbids his generals to "run the churches." On the 4th of March the Pine Street Church building was released, but the military authorities still held the noble pastor in bonds. Finally, a friend, on his own motion, visited the Commanding General and essayed to get the military order set aside.

On March 28, 1863, Gen. Curtis writes from his own headquarters in St. Louis directly to Dr. McPheeters. He says:

> Restraints having been imposed on your exercise of public functions because of supposed disloyalty, some of your friends have traversed the fact of your being disloyal, and desire my personal intervention. With a view of ascertaining your sentiments, I submit to you the following interrogatories for your answer:
>
> 1. Do you wish the rebellion crushed, and are you in favor of the restoration of the national authority over all the country?
>
> 2. In the confliet of war now existing do you desire the success of the Federal and the defeat of the rebel forces?

To this letter Dr. McPheeters replies on March 31:

> I have the honor of acknowledging the receipt of your favor of the 28th, the Sabbath intervening between its date and reception.
>
> Allow me, General, to express my thanks for the kind manner in which you received and heard my friends, and for your further kindness in reviewing the decision in my case. Under other circumstances than those in which I find myself placed it might be proper and becoming in me to express freely and fully both my desires and opinions, as far as I have desires or have formed opinions, in relation to our sad national calamities. But the position in which my seemingly hard fate has placed me is peculiar

and embarrassing, and my answer to your interrogatories must be determined in view of all the circumstances surrounding me and my convictions of duty. I do not mean that I have, or that any citizen, however situated, can or ought to have, any difficulty in acknowledging his allegiance. Certainly no such difficulty is in my way. When, in the General Assembly of my Church, it was intimated that I was disloyal, I promptly and thoroughly repelled the insinuation openly and before the whole country. And when the Convention of this State, by ordinance, required a most carefully prepared oath of allegiance to be taken by those who solemnize the rite of matrimony, in obedience to the teachings of my Church on that particular matter (Directory Worship, ch. xi. sec. 1), and from a sense of duty, I voluntarily subscribed and filed it, as required. And, in this connection, allow me to say that one of the things which I have found it hardest to bear in the course of the authorities toward me is, that I have not only been treated as though I had taken this oath without honor or conscience, but whatever influence my office or character give me is made to encourage and sustain those who are shaking the very foundations of society by denying the solemn and binding obligation of an oath. But I forbear. I have said so much as due to myself and to kind friends who have interfered in my behalf.

Now, as to the particular interrogatories propounded. They are of the same import as those to which certain members of my Church and congregation demand of me answers.

I denied the right to require an answer from me, and in doing so used this language: "And this position I take not from any disposition to stand out captiously upon an abstract question of right, nor from any disposition improperly to conceal my political views on political questions, but from a conscientious conviction that I can not yield the thing you claim without, to the full extent of my example, compromising the rights of every minister and endangering the peace of all our Churches." When I then refused to answer these questions, they made appeal to the public and, directly or indirectly, to the military authorities. The result was, that military order No. 152 was made and issued, which, for my silence and refusal to answer these members of my Church, banished me from my pulpit, and, as originally made, from this State. This order is, in express terms, on its face, based on my position above quoted, taken with the members of my Church.

If I was right then, it can not now be proper that I should give an answer which I then declined on principle—a principle on the maintenance of which

I then and now believe depends, in a great degree, the peace, the purity and the spiritual power of the Church.

I do not expect you, General, to see all the consequences of a precedent such as my answer to the questions proposed would establish as I think I see them. But this I think I have a right to expect—that you will see that, believing as I do, I can not answer the questions which you proposed, under the circumstances in which they are propounded, without abandoning my religious convictions and wounding my conscience. I dare not, then, whatever be the consequences to me personally, make such a reply to your kind letter as you probably expected.

But I trust that I have said enough to satisfy you that all charges of disloyalty against me are without foundation. In this connection I may be pardoned for quoting from your circular letter defining loyalty. You say: "Prima facie, an oath of allegiance is evidence of loyalty, and when men have taken upon themselves such obligations, and have lived and acted consistently with them, they should be regarded as loyal." I have taken the oath voluntarily and conscientiously. I have lived consistently with it. Your own words decide the rest—I "should be regarded as loyal." Under your order, and with any construction that could be put upon it, I would be allowed to buy or sell, to practice medicine, to plead law—why not to preach the gospel?

But I will not weary your patience. I thank you for reading so much as I have written. I have never believed that in any thing that has occurred you have designed to do me injustice. And I hope that you will see your way clear to remove the hindrance to my returning to my work and calling. In any event, I shall try to so live and act that those who know me will be constrained to confess that I am not a bad, much less a dangerous, citizen.

It has been seen that the Government exhibited signs of placability, but the "committee" were not satisfied. Seizing, therefore, a moment of intense excitement in the State, the Presbytery of St. Louis was called to a special meeting on the request of three ministers and four elders, only one of the ministers having a charge, three of the elders being of Mr. Porter's church, and of the whole number of ministers and elders only one elder a member of Pine Street Church. This special meeting convened on the 15th of May, 1863, and was composed of only sixteen out of nearly sixty ministers and elders in the Presbytery.

Up to this period Dr. McPheeters was firmly resolved, cost what it might to himself individually, to hold to the pastoral relation. But on "the morning before the Presbytery met he was reliably informed that the Provost-Marshal had determined, if the Presbytery persisted in refusing to expel him from his Church at the request of the minority, to imprison or banish every one of them. Dr. McPheeters sent messages to the different depots to prevent the ministers from meeting together; but they would meet and would not vote for his expulsion. Immediately on the convening of the Presbytery, to prevent any action, he handed in his resignation, not being able (considering the source of his information in regard to the contemplated action of the Provost-Marshal) to explain why. As far as concerned himself he was ready to suffer anything; but knowing what these men and their families would suffer, he was not prepared to see them encounter it all, as it then seemed, for his sake."

Thus it will be seen that Dr. McPheeters sent in his resignation at this time under duress of the military, and only as a supposed safeguard for his brethren. But even under these circumstances Presbytery sternly refused to accept it. And afterward, when the matter came to be known to the Pine Street congregation, they assembled and resolved, by a vote of 91 to 56 "that the meeting do not agree to and protest against the dissolution of the existing relation with Rev. S. B. McPheeters as pastor of our Church, and that we request him to withdraw his resignation offered to St. Louis Presbytery." It is, therefore, plain that neither Dr. McPheeters nor his congregation asked the Presbytery to dissolve the relation which existed between the pastor and his flock. But as this matter is fully discussed by Judge Wood and Dr. McPheeters in their speeches before the Assembly, any further comments on the subject are withheld.

Here, then, was a minister of Christ, whose reputation for purity of life filled the whole land, persecuted by the professed Church of God because he would not submissively yoke himself to the chariot wheels of Cæsar. Never a vestige of proot could be obtained to establish disloyalty. The oath of allegiance had been taken and kept. No man living witnessed an act or heard a word from the lips of McPheeters to which the sternest and most inexorable government could except, yet because the man could not make the pulpit the vehicle of bloody politics, and in his prayers fill the ear of the Almighty with petitions for the success of this or that party, his own brethren cried: "Persecute and take him, and let there be none to deliver." This unoffending and peerless minister of Jesus, thus driven away from his flock by the efforts of "false brethren," was obliged to look around upon the world for some occupation by which he and his household could be provided with bread, for it was his settled determination not to accept a salary from a congregation who were deprived of his services. In the office of a government official a position was offered and accepted, and by services rendered there a scanty provision for himself and family came into his hands. He also preached here and there, as opportunity arose, and now and then a pecuniary acknowledgment was placed in his hands. These testimonials reached him sometimes, as manna from heaven, just at the very moment when, like the widow of Zarephath, he gathered sticks to bake the last handful of meal.

He was not even allowed to stand up before his accusers and utter a single word of defense; for it will be remembered "that about the last of March or the first of April, Dr. McPheeters, by virtue of his office as a minister of the gospel, a member of Presbytery, and having a personal interest in business before Presbytery, then to meet on the 8th of April, desired to attend, and application was made to General Curtis to know if his attendance would be a violation of order 152. General Curtis said his attendance was prohibited by that order; and he did not attend. Again, in May following, at a special meeting of Presbytery, he had a personal case, involving his highest and dearest interests. He then made application to General Curtis, through Brig.-Gen'l. Edwards, to so far relax the order as to allow him to attend, which was denied and refused by General Curtis. He was denied and refused the liberty of attending and officiating on funeral and marriage occasions; in short, the prohibition was understood to extend to "all ministerial acts and offices." When General Schofield superseded General Curtis, and after the mischief was done, an order, dated June 3d, gave him "permission to attend the meeting of the Presbytery of St. Louis, for the purpose of defending his ministerial character, but not to act as a member of such body." At the very moment when Dr. McPheeters was denied the right of self defense before his own Presbytery he was allowed, without challenge, to practice in the U. S. Court of Claims, and to receive, without question, a fee from his client. Even the stern military authorities, when left to their own unprejudiced judgment, could repose confidence in his integrity, fairness and ability, while he was hunted down like a hare by his brethren and co-presbyters.

In the meantime an appeal was taken to the Synod of Missouri against the unconstitutional proceedings of Presbytery. It was submitted to Presbytery by W. W. Greene, as representative of the Pine Street Church.

To the Moderator of St. Louis Presbytery:

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR: The undersigned herewith puts into your hands, as Moderator of Presbytery, an appeal and complaint to Synod against the action of a special meeting of Presbytery, convened in this city on the 22d of June, 1863, and which closed its sessions on the 27th of June, in dissolving the pastoral relation between the Rev. Samuel B. McPheeters and Pine Street Church of St. Louis.

The grounds of appeal and complaint are the following:

1. There was no valid or constitutional ground for calling a special meeting of Presbytery. The difficulties in Pine Street Church—such as they were—were all known at the stated meetings and should have been brought up then, if it had been considered important to take any steps in relation to them. [Baird's Digest, Book V, part 1, sec. 4.]

2. Because this special meeting was called at a time of great excitement in the State, and under such circumstances as were calculated to prevent members of Presbytery from attending; and the undersigned believes that but for this circumstance Presbytery would not have dissolved the relation, and he does not, nor do the majority of the members of Pine Street Church regard the action of Presbytery as a fair expression of the opinion of that body; and he and they consider the action of Presbytery as a grievous wrong, which Synod should not permit to pass unrebuked, and that they should reverse the decision of a Presbytery so called.

3. Because there was no petition from either pastor or Church for a dissolution of the relation.

Rev. Dr. McPheeters, it is true, put his resignation in the hands of Presbytery; but in a paper which he afterward handed in, and which was read before Presbytery, he gave at large his reasons for sending his resignation to Presbytery, and that paper (which is made a part of this communication, and is marked "A") sets forth in a strong light reasons why Presbytery should not have regarded his resignation as a request for the dissolution of the pastoral relation.

As to the Church, at a meeting called to consider that very subject, a vote was had by taking the yeas and nays, when a very large majority opposed and protested against Presbytery dissolving the relation. This will more fully appear in the records of the meetings of Pine Street Church, authentic copies of which are upon record in the Session book of the Church, and should be upon the records of Presbytery, and which are also submitted as part of this paper.

4. Because Presbytery received and heard, as a commissioner from Pine Street Church, George P. Strong, when it was well known that he was elected a commissioner under circumstances that any court of the Church should have refused to hear him, and when it was well known that the majority of the Church had asked him to resign if he could not conscientiously represent their wishes. All this is plain from the minutes of the Church meeting before referred to. The majority of the Church, therefore, feel that they were not only deprived of their constitutional right to be heard by a commissioner who truly represented their desires and opinions, but that they were misrepresented in a way that they consider inflicted on them a gross wrong.

4. Because Presbytery not only received Mr. Strong as a commissioner, but they allowed him, in the absence of Dr. McPheeters, to proceed, in a long speech, to make an assault upon the moral and Christian character of Dr. McPheeters as a man notoriously guilty of high civil crimes, and, under the shallow pretense of giving rumors, really to lay charges, which, if true, or if believed to be true, it was plainly the duty of Mr. Strong to have made in the manner the Constitution prescribes, and as plainly improper for Presbytery to allow, except as the ground of judicial investigation. And the undersigned, in the name of a majority of Pine Street Church, and in the name of common justice, asks your reverend body to set aside a decision which was secured by a course so at war with Presbyterian usage, so destructive of the rights of all ministers and the peace of all our Churches. No court of our Church has a right to hear such charges, even if true, except as a ground for judicial investigation; much less have they a right to hear them when they are reckless, wanton and untrue.

6. Because the undersigned and a majority of the Church believe and are fully persuaded that the dissolution of the pastoral relation at this time and under these circumstances endangers not only the interest, but the very existence of the Church, and they ask your reverend body to interpose and set aside the decision of Presbytery, or at least that the whole matter shall be sent back for a new hearing and for a fair and full expression on the part of Presbytery of its Christian judgment in the premises.

When Synod met, Dr. McPheeters forwarded the following letter:

St. Louis, October 13th, 1863.

To the Moderator of the Synod of Missouri:

The Commander of the Department issued, nearly a year ago, an order against me, as a minister of the gospel, which makes it a military offense for me to sit as a member of a court of Christ's Church, and to deliberate on matters pertaining to His Kingdom. While such an order in no degree binds my conscience, it is still one which I am compelled to obey.

For this reason, I shall not be present at the meeting of Synod. The records of the Presbytery of St. Louis will inform you of matters deeply affecting me as the pastor of one of your Churches, and, in some aspects, as a minister of the gospel, which my Presbytery have considered and decided. How far the record will present the true state of the case I am unable to say, as I was not permitted to be present; but I have reason to believe that the record of Presbytery is defective, in that it contains no allusions to important papers which were before that body, and which should, in all fairness and propriety, have been before Synod. I was, as I before remarked, prohibited from sitting in Presbytery, as a free member of the body. I had no opportunity of making even a statement to the body. On the other hand, Presbytery heard a long speech from a member of my Church, who had no right to be heard, in which my character was assailed.

CHAPTER XII.

LETTER TO GOVERNOR GAMBLE—LETTERS OF JUDGE BATES, PRESIDENT LINCOLN, ETC.

Dr. McPheeters once again determined to make an appeal to the civil authorities, and, therefore, wrote to Gov. Gamble, under date of December 3d, 1863:

As your time is necessarily occupied by your official duties, it is with reluctance that I trouble you with any matters relating to myself. I know, too, that the removal of the grievance under which I labor is not immediately in your hands. What I wish to ask of you, however, is only your kind offices in suggesting any thing that it may be proper for me to do, and any assistance in the premises which you may be disposed to give me. I flatter myself that my intercourse with you in years past has left the impression on you that I will not knowingly make a statement which I do not myself believe to be true.

My case is this:

On the 19th day of December, 1862, a military order was issued containing a threefold sentence:

(1st) Myself and wife were to be banished to specified limits in the Northern States. (2d) While I remained in Missouri I was prohibited the exercise of my functions as a minister of the gospel. (3d) My Church was taken from the control of its ecclesiastical officers and given in charge of a commission, who are directed to provide a preacher and conduct the services.

By a subsequent order, dated December 28, 1862, the sentence of banishment was suspended. By a third order, dated March 4, the control of my Church was returned to the Church officers. From these several orders (copies of which I enclose, marked A, B and C) it will be seen that the only part of the original order against me that remains in force is that which forbids me the exercise of my distinctive functions as a minister of the Gospel. So true is this that it is known to the entire community that for nearly a year I have been in the full and uninterrupted enjoyment of every right of a citizen except my ecclesiastical and religious rights.

Refusing to receive a salary from my congregation for services I was prevented from rendering, I have been forced to turn to secular pursuits—for many months past have found employment in a law office. In this position I have not only prepared, but in person presented and passed claims before a Commission appointed by the President of the United States. If prepared, I might practice law. If disposed, I might publicly lecture on history, art, or science. I have voted without challenge or objection. In short, there is no secular calling which is not as open to me as to any other citizen. And yet it would be a military offense for me to preach a sermon, to sit in an ecclesiastical court, to administer the Lord's Supper, or to officiate at a funeral!

The simple, naked fact is, that, as matters now stand, the military authorities have deposed me from the Gospel ministry, and this is the only grievance under which I labor, and from which I seek to be relieved. I could give a very rational explanation of this strange, not to say absurd, issue of my case, but it would require more space than I think proper to occupy. Suffice it to say, that it is manifest on the face of the original order that it was no part of the purpose of the military authorities, at the time the order was issued, to prohibit the exercise of my ministerial functions for a longer time than the ten days which were to elapse between the order and the banishment. When the order of banishment was suspended, it was so worded as to leave the ecclesiastical sentence in force. And thus matters have stood up to this time.

I think I have a right to assume that if there was any valid ground why I should have been punished, it would have come to light in a year; and I am confident if there had been any evidence against me at any time during the year that I would not have been permitted to remain in the State. The truth is, Governor, that the original sentence was hastily issued, upon the representation of one or two misguided and prejudiced men, and was pronounced without my having any examination or trial whatever. This I have always regarded as hard treatment. For some months before the order was issued, hearing that charges and insinuations were being made against me privately, I went in person to both the District Provost-Marshal and the Provost-Marshal General and made special request that if charges of any kind were preferred against me I might have a hearing before sentence was passed. And if this, as it seems to me, reasonable request had been granted, I firmly believe that no order would ever have been issued. It is most certain that the order of December 19 could not be obtained against me now. I believe that those who asked and procured it then would not ask it to-day. I am much mistaken if they are glad to-day of what they did a year ago. I have not, up to this time, presented my case to the General now commanding this Department, nor asked him to review it, mainly for two reasons: 1. It was a case decided by his predecessor. 2. Friends, in whose judgment I relied, thought, in the condition of things in Missouri, it was better for me patiently to wait. I feel that I have now waited long enough, and think something should be done in my case. I am the only minister of any denomination in the city prohibited by military authority from preaching. I appeal to you, as one acquainted with this community, and acquainted with me, if such a distinction against me makes the impression upon respectable citizens that this sentence is just and right! The question I wish to submit to you is, what should I do to bring my case before the proper authorities? If the sentence can be removed by a simple reversal, giving no reasons and going into no explanations, I have no objections. If a trial is necessary, then I ask, as a matter of justice, that it may be full and searching, and that I have a fair opportunity of thoroughly vindicating my character and conduct.

On December 31, 1863, Judge Bates wrote from Washington directly to Dr. McPheeters:

Governor Gamble transmitted to me (in his letter of December 27) your letter to him, of December 3d, which contains a lucid statement of the condition in which you suppose yourself to be left by the various military orders, copies of which accompanied your letter.

Before the receipt of Governor Gamble's letter, I had received a petition in your behalf, addressed to the President by some twenty or more, among whom I recognize some of the worthiest men in St. Louis. That petition, with several letters of individuals which were sent with it, I laid before the President. He seemed much surprised to find that you were still laboring under any clerical or professional disabilities in consequence of those ill-advised military orders which, in all their personal and civil bearings, had been superseded long ago, and he answered Mr. O. D. Filley (who wrote one of the letters above referred to) in a manner which he supposed would end the question. Again I brought the matter to his notice by exhibiting the documents first mentioned in this letter. The President, in substance, answered, that it was always his wish and purpose to hold individuals responsible for their own acts, without any reference to the fact that they happened to be members or officers of particular Churches; that the fact of being a member or pastor of a Church was no excuse for personal misdemeanors; but that he never intended to assume, or permit his subordinate officers to assume, any power to govern or control the Churches, or in any manner to determine who may and who may not preach or minister in them.

You say that you are in the full fruition of your civil rights, and the President considers you as free in the enjoyment of your ecclesiastical rights.

I write this with the express permission of the President, and I presume to advise that you quietly resume the exercise of all the rights, duties and functions of your office, as if no interruption had occurred.

It is time to give the famous letter of Mr. Lincoln, which, it now appears, was written and forwarded to Mr. Filley previous to that interview of Judge Bates with the President alluded to by the former in his communication to Dr. McPheeters, dated December 31.

President Lincoln, on December 22, 1863, wrote directly to O. D. Filley:

I have just looked over a petition, signed by some three dozen citizens of St. Louis, and the accompanying letters—one by yourself, one by a Mr. Nathan Ranney and one by a Mr. John D. Coalter, the whole relating to Rev. Dr. McPheeters. The petition prays, in the name of justice and mercy, that I will restore Dr. McPheeters to all his ecclesiastical rights. This gives no intimation as to what ecclesiastical rights are withheld. Your letter states that Provost-Marshal Dick, about a year ago, ordered the arrest of Dr. McPheeters, pastor of the Pine Street Church, prohibited him from officiating, and placed the management of the affairs of his Church out of the control of its chosen trustees; and, near the close, you state that a certain course "would insure his release." Mr. Ranney's letter says: "Dr. Sam'l. McPheeters is enjoying all the rights of a civilian, but he can not preach the gospel." Mr. Coalter, in his letter, asks: "Is it not a strange illustration of the condition of things, that the question of who shall be allowed to preach in a Church in St. Louis shall be decided by the *President of the United States?*" Now, all this sounds very strangely; and withal, a little as if you gentlemen making the application do not understand the case alike—one affirming that the Dr. is enjoying all the rights of a civilian, and another pointing out to me what will secure his release. On the 2d of January last I wrote to General Curtis in relation to Mr. Dick's order upon Dr. McPheeters, and, as I suppose, the Dr. is enjoying all the rights of a civilian, I only quote that part of my letter which relates to the Church. It is as follows; "But I must add that the United States Government must not, as by this order, undertake to run the Churches. When an individual in the Church or out of it becomes dangerous to the public interest, he must be checked, but the Churches, as such, must take care of themselves. It will not do for the United States to appoint trustees, supervisors or other agents for the Churches." This letter, going to General Curtis, then in command there, I supposed, of course, it was obeyed, especially as I heard no further complaint from Dr. McPheeters or his friends for nearly an entire year. I have never interfered, nor thought of interfering, as to who shall or shall not preach in any Church; nor have I knowingly or believingly tolerated any one else to so interfere by my authority. If any one is so interfering, by color of my authority, I would like to have it specifically made known to me. If, after all, what is now sought, is to have me put Dr. McPheeters back over the heads of a majority of his own congregation, that, too, will be declined. I will not have control of any Church on any side.

The letter that follows will illustrate still further how Dr. McPheeters contended for principle, and only principle, throughout. Writing from St. Louis, on 17th of February, 1864, to Rev. A. Munson, he says:

I thank you for your very kind letters, which pressing engagements have prevented me from answering until now. Mr. Lincoln repudiated the whole action of the military toward me: said he never sanctioned it nor allowed it to be done. This settles the matter, as far as the civil authorities were concerned. The matter has yet to go through the ecclesiastical courts. There is an appeal now pending before the Synod of Missouri. I hope you will be there to hear and help decide the matter. I should not be surprised if Strong sent up a memorial to the next General Assembly on the matter. But I do not believe he can do any thing there. He is becoming weaker and weaker. The prominent men who acted with him have taken pews in the New School Church; and one, who was his main stay, has begun a

Mission Church, and will not, I think, give any more trouble, and will, probably, carry off some fifteen or twenty with him of the disaffected. I have contended throughout only for two principles—

1. That a minister is not bound to answer political questions propounded to him by members of his Church.

2. That the State has no right to control the worship of the Church.

On both of these points I expect to stand. I have yielded no point, and intend to yield none, God being my help and strength.

I greatly need the grace and wisdom that come from above that I may do right and be right. My brother, pray for me.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE NEWARK ASSEMBLY—SPEECH OF HON. W. T. WOOD.

On December 22, 1863, all military disabilities were removed, and in January, 1864, Dr. McPheeters, at the earnest solicitation of a large majority of the Pine Street congregation, resumed labor again among the people of his charge. The reasons for this step are fully set forth in his speech before the Assembly in Newark, which the reader will find in a subsequent chapter. There was now a promise of quiet and usefulness. For twelve months and more the character of the Pastor had been held upon the rack, and yet not a witness could be found to testify to one single deed of unfaithfulness either to Christ or the Government; and in the present aspect of the case it did, indeed, appear improbable that malignity itself would persecute any longer. But at the spring meeting of St. Louis Presbytery, held at Kirkwood, April 9, a memorial, signed by Elder George P. Strong and eight others, asked Presbytery to prohibit Dr. McPheeters from preaching in Pine Street Church.

Cæsar, as we have seen, called for water and washed his hands; but although the President positively decided not to "run the churches," it was not yet determined by ecclesiastical courts not to run the State. Accordingly the memorial of Strong and others was entertained. Against this action of the Presbytery two complaints were made to the Assembly. After so long a time, when the Assembly met in Newark, N. J., May, 1864, Dr. McPheeters, in company with his Elder, Hon. Wm. T. Wood, stood up before the Ecclesiastical Court to sustain a complaint against the Presbytery of St. Louis. Judge Wood spoke first, and his speech was preceded by the following preliminary remarks:

A very brief statement of the several steps in the history of this case is necessary to a clear understanding of the form in which it came before the General Assembly. From the 19th of December, 1862, to the 22d of December, 1863, Dr. McPheeters, Pastor of Pine Street Presbyterian Church, St. Louis, Mo., was prohibited by military authority from exercising the functions of his ministry in Missouri. During this time, to-wit: on the 15th of May, 1863, a *pro-re-nata* meeting of St. Louis Presbytery was called to dissolve the pastoral relation. The relation was dissolved by another *pro-re-nata* meeting, which convened the June following. Against this action of Presbytery complaint was made—an appeal taken to the Synod of Missouri by W. W. Greene, an Elder of Pine Street Church, representing that Church in Presbytery. Synod met in October of the same year, received the complaint and appeal, declared it to be in order, and for reasons given did not issue it, but put it on its docket to be tried at its next meeting, to be held in October, 1864. The military disability of Dr. McPheeters having been removed December 22, 1863, in January, 1864, he, assuming that the appeal which Synod had received, declared to be in order and docketed for trial, arrested the dissolution of the pastoral relation until the case was issued, and being invited by the Standing Committee of Pine Street Church to procure supplies, preached statedly for the congregation.

At the spring meeting of Presbytery, held last April, a memorial, signed by nine members of Pine Street Church, was laid before that body, asking Presbytery to prohibit Dr. McPheeters from preaching in Pine Street Church. This memorial Presbytery spread upon its records, and passed resolutions in accordance with the request of the memorialists. Against this action two complaints were made to the General Assembly—one by six of the seven Elders of Pine Street Church, which complaint was represented by Hon. Wm. T. Wood, one of the complainants, and the other by Dr. McPheeters. A memorial was also sent up to the Assembly, signed by a majority of the ministers and sessions of St. Louis Presbytery, upon the same subject. This memorial was placed with the other papers in the hands of the Judicial Committee, and was by them reported to the Assembly. And, while it was not read before the body, it was referred to and freely quoted in debate, and as it gives the view of the majority of St. Louis Presbytery on the whole case, it is printed with the other documents. The minutes of the Presbytery here presented are those of the Judicial Committee, and read before the Assembly, but other parts of the minutes were not only used in debate, but are referred to in the final action of the Assembly; and some things are also stated in the action of the Assembly which no where appear on the minutes. As the grounds of complaint are substantially stated in the arguments of Judge Wood and Dr. McPheeters, it has not been thought necessary to give them in full. The object of this publication being to give the speeches of the complainants, the documents should, in strict propriety, be added as an appendix, but for the convenience of the reader they are here placed in the order he would naturally desire to read them. By the decision of the Moderator, Mr. Strong, although not a member of the Presbytery of St. Louis, nor appointed by them to defend their action, nor, as far as appeared, appointed by any one else, was admitted as one of the "original parties," apparently on the ground that he was one of the minority of Pine Street Church who presented the memorial to St. Louis Presbytery which gave rise to the action of the Presbytery about which complaint was made.

EXTRACT FROM MINUTES OF PRESBYTERY READ BEFORE THE ASSEMBLY.

KIRKWOOD, *April* 9, 1864.

The Clerk received a memorial from members of Pine Street Church, complaining of the action of Dr. McPheeters and asking for relief, as follows:
To Presbytery of St. Louis:

RESPECTED BRETHREN: The undersigned would respectfully represent, that within the last two or three months the Rev. Dr. S. B. McPheeters has resumed the duties of the pastoral office in Pine Street Church, notwithstanding his formal dismission from that office, at his own request, by the action of Presbytery in June last. Your memorialists are members of Pine Street Church, and heads of families connected with that Church, and are very desirous that such measures should be taken with reference to it as will tend to heal the divisions now existing and permit all its members to enjoy their accustomed privileges. There are now nearly a hundred members of that Church, beside others who have been attendants there, who have been constrained to withdraw their confidence from Dr. McPheeters in consequence of the course he has pursued upon the subject of the existing rebellion—who are unwilling to have him as their minister. They believe the Presbytery acted wisely and considered the true interest of the Church when it dissolved the pastoral relation between that Church and Dr. McPheeters, and that if Dr. McPheeters had submitted to the action of Presbytery and retired from all connection with Pine Street Church, instead of encouraging a revolutionary and contumacious spirit, by gathering around him a portion of that Church, and by persisting in attempting to fill the pastoral office after his regular dismission, there would at once have sprung up a better and more Christian spirit, and the great majority of both parties in the Church would now be worshiping together in comparative harmony and peace. They believe that Dr. McPheeters' usefulness in that Church is at an end, and that whatever accessions may be made to it under his leadership will result more from a design to aid in a party triumph than from any desire to build up the Church of Christ, and that a blessing can not be expected upon the labors of a minister whose presence drives from the Church and from the communion table nearly a hundred members of the regular communicants.

Your memorialists deny the right of Dr. McPheeters or any portion of Pine Street Church to insist that he only minister there, and all who are not satisfied with that arrangement shall leave the Church, after the Presbytery, upon a full and mature deliberation, has decided that the interest of that Church will be best promoted by a change of pastors. Wherefore your memorialists respectfully pray that such action may be taken in the premises as to compel Dr. McPheeters to respect the decision of Presbytery and retire from Pine Street Church, and that such other relief may be afforded as to your body may seem meet and proper.

(Signed,) George P. Strong, Thomas Morrison, H. B. Graham, John S. Thompson, S. D. Mitchell, James M. Corbitt, John Ifinger, Richard Holmes, John Devlin.

Elder George P. Strong, of Pine Street Church, being present in the house, was invited to address Presbytery on the subject. Elds. Edwards and King, members of the Standing Committee on Pine Street Church, being called upon, addressed Presbytery as to the efforts which had been made to reconcile the difficulties in that Church.

The following was moved by the Rev. H. I. Coe:

Resolved, That the memorial of a number of members of Pine Street Presbyterian Church be referred to the Standing Committee of Presbytery on the affairs of that Church, with instructions to report at a called or at the next regular meeting of Presbytery, as they deem expedient.

Pending the discussion of the resolution, Rev. J. J. Porter moved the following substitute. The memorial of certain members of Pine Street Church having been presented, after discussion, it was resolved as follows:

1. By action of Presbytery of June, 1863, the pastoral relation between Dr. McPheeters and Pine Street Church was dissolved, and Dr. McPheeters ceased to be the pastor of that Church, and ceased to have the right to exercise discipline or perform the functions of the pastoral office in that Church.

2. That inasmuch as this action was taken by Presbytery in the exercise of its power to ordain whatever pertains to the spiritual welfare of the Churches under their care, and its solemn judgment that the interests of Pine Street Church require that Dr. McPheeters shall cease to exercise the functions of minister to that Church; therefore,

Resolved, That Presbytery learns with regret that Dr. McPheeters is still officiating as minister in that Church, whether by invitation of Session or at his own instance is not known to Presbytery; but in either case they do hereby ordain and declare that, in the judgment of this Presbytery, the peace and harmony and spiritual interest of Pine Street Church, as well as a proper respect for the feelings of a large minority opposed to the ministrations of their former pastor, require that Dr. McPheeters shall cease all connection with that Church and no longer attempt to minister to that congregation.

Passed, and the stated clerk was directed to furnish a copy of this action to Dr. McPheeters and to the Session of Pine Street Church.

EXTRACT FROM THE MINUTES OF THE SYNOD OF MISSOURI, SESSION OCTOBER, 1863, READ BEFORE THE ASSEMBLY.

The Judicial Committee made the following report: That "there has been placed in their hands an appeal and complaint to Synod against the action of the special meeting of the Presbytery of St. Louis, convened in the city of St. Louis, on the 22d of June, 1863, which closed its session on the 27th June, to dissolve the pastoral relations between Rev. S. B. McPheeters and the Pine Street Church, they find the said appeal and complaint in order, but inasmuch as persons interested in the case, and who desire to be present when the case is issued, are not able to be present at this time, they recommend that the case be referred to the next Synod." Accepted and adopted.

MEMORIAL *of a Majority of the Ministers and Elders of St. Louis Presbytery to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, convened in Newark, N. J., May*, 1864.

The undersigned, constituting a majority of the ministers and ruling Elders in the Presbytery of St. Louis, respectfully memorialize your venerable body touching the action of said Presbytery in relation to Rev. Samuel B. McPheeters, D. D., and the Pine Street Church.

The anomaly thus exhibited—of a majority presenting a memorial concerning the proceedings of those who, when assembled in an ecclesiastical court, form a minority of the members entitled to a seat in the body—will be subsequently explained.

Your memorialists desire nothing more than to present a brief history of the case upon which they seek, from the General Assembly, an expression of opinion, feeling assured that a simple *statement of facts* will meet all the ends contemplated in laying this paper before the highest judicatory of our Church.

The history, which we deem essential to a clear understanding of the troubles that have arisen among us, is compiled from the records of the inferior judicatories; and only when those records are manifestly imperfect do we derive our narrative from other sources of information known to be entirely reliable.

Your attention, then, is called, in the first place, to the proceedings of Presbytery, at a meeting held in St. Louis, on the 15th of May, 1863, for the purposes mentioned in the following minute:

"A special meeting of the Presbytery of St. Louis being called by the Moderator, on the request of James A. Paige, S. Pettigrew, J. J. Porter, (ministers); Wyllys King, J. C. Havens, C. Sage (Elders of the Union Church); and Geo. P. Strong (Elder of Pine Street Church), to be held on the 15th of May, at 8 o'clock, p. m., in the Union Church, St. Louis, to take measures to remove the grievances under which Pine Street Church has been laboring for some months past, and to dissolve the pastoral relation between that Church and Rev. Samuel B. McPheeters, D. D., and, in general, to take such action as the interests of that Church may seem to require; and, in view of the renewed attempt to overthrow the Government in Missouri, to take such action as will warn and dissuade the members of our various Churches from engaging in and encouraging the sin of rebellion against the Civil Government of the State and nation. Presbytery met accordingly," &c.

Your memorialists ask the Assembly to notice the peculiar phraseology of the call upon which the Presbytery convened. It is not to dissolve the pastoral relation between Dr. McPheeters and the Pine Street Church—*if the way be clear, or if the interests of the Church demand the dissolution*—but it is "to dissolve the relation," thereby conclusively proving the fixed purpose and foregone conclusion of those who drew up the call to do that thing in any event. We, also, ask you to notice that there is not one word on record to indicate that even the minority in Pine Street Church, who opposed Dr. McPheeters, either requested or desired the Presbytery to convene for any such purpose. Suddenly and unexpectedly, and but a few days after the regular spring meeting of the Presbytery, when, as the records show, the affairs of Pine Street Church were under consideration, the Moderator issues a call for a *pro-re-nata* meeting, signed by three ministers, two of whom have no pastoral charge; by three ruling Elders, all belonging to one Church; and by one ruling Elder of Pine Street Church; and the object of that meeting, it is plainly stated, is to dissolve the pastoral relation between Dr. McPheeters and his people.

Now, your memorialists assert, without fear of contradiction, that no reasons existed for the dissolution of the pastoral relation on the 15th of May which did not exist at the time of the regular meeting of Presbytery, but a little while before. But if the General Assembly will keep in mind that there was unusual excitement in the community (as, indeed, the call upon which the Presbytery met intimates), and that this excitement, naturally, prevented a large attendance of the members, the true cause of the hasty action of Presbytery will, possibly, be disclosed. Dr. McPheeters was forbidden, by military authority, to appear for his defense or for one word of explanation; any expression of sympathy with him, although based on purely ecclesiastical or conscientious grounds, was regarded with suspicion and attended by danger; and hence, as the vote upon an important resolution shows, but *sixteen* out of nearly *sixty* ministers and ruling Elders were present to do what it was declared in the call they were determined to do—to-wit: dissolve the pastoral relation.

For reasons which were stated to Presbytery at a subsequent meeting, but which were refused a place upon the records, Dr. McPheeters felt constrained to put his resignation into the hands of Presbytery, and thereupon it was

"*Resolved*, That Pine Street Church and congregation be cited to appear, by their commissioners, before Presbytery, on Wednesday, the 3d of June, at 8 o'clock, p. m., in the Pine Street Church, to respond to the resignation of their pastor, Rev. S. B. McPheeters, D. D.; and to this end they are hereby directed to meet on Wednesday evening, the 27th inst., to take action in the premises."

In accordance with the foregoing order, a meeting of Pine Street Church was held on Wednesday evening, the 27th of May, 1863, and was moderated by Rev. James H. Brookes. After considerable discussion upon various motions, W. W. Greene, ruling Elder in Pine Street Church, offered the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That this meeting do not agree to, and protest against the dissolution of the existing relation with the Rev. Dr. Samuel B. McPheeters, as pastor of Pine Street Church, and that we request him to withdraw his resignation offered to St. Louis Presbytery."

The ayes and noes being called, the vote, as the record shows, resulted as follows: Ninety-one (91) were in favor of Mr. Greene's resolution; fifty-six (56) were opposed.

At this juncture, as the records both of Presbytery (see page 104) and of the Pine Street Church further show, a majority having left the house near the hour of midnight, and, upon the introduction, by Mr. Strong, of matters wholly foreign to the expressed object of the meeting, the minority thereupon proceeded to elect Mr. Strong as the commissioner to represent the Church in Presbytery, and instructed him to urge the dissolution of the pastoral relation, in the very face of the resolution just adopted by an overwhelming majority.

The Presbytery met, according to adjournment, in Pine Street Church, June 3, 1863, and Geoge P. Strong was recognized as the properly appointed Commissioner of the Church. A question at once arose concerning the meaning of the phrase, "at their *next* meeting," in Chapter XVII, Form of Government, which says "Presbytery shall cite the congregation to appear, by their Commissioners, *at their next meeting*, to show cause, if any they have, why the Presbytery should not accept the resignation." It was held by some that an adjourned meeting is not "the next meeting" in the sense of the Book, and hence, on the evening of June 4, 1863, the following paper, offered by Rev. J. H. Brookes, was adopted:

"In view of the fact that considerable doubt exists concerning the constitutional right of Presbytery, at its present session, to issue the matters connected with Pine Street Church,

Resolved, That Presbytery, after approving their minutes, adjourn, in order that opportunity may be afforded for calling another *pro-re-nata* meeting of this body."

Presbytery accordingly adjourned, and a call was immediately issued for a meeting to be held in the same place June 23, 1863.

On the evening of June 22, 1863, a meeting of Pine Street Church and congregation was held, called by order of the Session of said Church, and Moderated by Rev. James H. Brookes. At this meeting the following resolution, offered by Hon. W. T. Wood, Ruling Elder in Pine Street Church, was adopted, as the records show (see page 106), by a large majority of the members of the Church:

"WHEREAS, At a meeting on the 27th of May, 1863, at a late hour of the night, after a vote had been taken in full meeting of ninety-one (91) to fifty-six (56) against the resignation of Dr. S. B. McPheeters, Pastor of the Church, and against the dissolution of the pastoral relation, and after a majority of the members had left and gone home, as it appears by the proceedings of the persons who remained, it was resolved that this meeting now appoint a commissioner to represent this Church in Presbytery, and that he be instructed to urge Presbytery to accept Dr. McPheeters' resignation, and to dissolve the pastoral relation between him and Pine Street Church; and,

"WHEREAS, The resolution was offered and passed without even a motion to reconsider the vote that had been taken and entered on the subject, in violation of all rule and order, and against the known voice of the Church and congregation; therefore,

"*Resolved*, That said resolution does not express the voice and wishes of Pine Street Church and congregation; and, further,

"*Resolved*, That the true voice of the Church and congregation was expressed in the resolution adopted at that meeting, on motion of Captain Greene; and unless George P. Strong, as the Commissioner from this congregation, can and will, in good faith, present and urge upon Presbytery the voice and wishes of the congregation as expressed in the resolution adopted on the motion of Captain Greene, on a fair vote of 91 to 56, he be requested to resign his trust as Commissioner."

Presbytery met on the next evening, June 23, but, notwithstanding the earnest protest of this injured Church, Mr. George P. Strong was recognized as its Commisioner, and was permitted, as the minutes show, to make two speeches against his Pastor, who was *not* permitted to appear in answer to his accuser. Nay, insult was added to injury, for we find in the records of Presbytery the following minutes: "Mr. Strong having concluded, *it was moved that the request of Pine Street Church be granted*, and the pastoral relation dissolved." Now, Presbytery well knew that Pine Street Church had made no such request, unless, indeed, one Ruling Elder out of seven that constituted the Session, and fifty-six members out of one hundred and forty-seven, who were present, by some curious mode of reasoning, were reckoned as the Church. But the minute goes on to say: "Pending this motion, Rev. J. H. Brookes asked leave to read a paper from Rev. Dr. McPheeters. The leave was granted, and the paper was heard. Rev. Dr. McPheeters having *asked leave to withdraw his resignation* already put in the hands of Presbytery, and that the whole paper be spread on the records, it was, on motion of Elder A. G. Edwards,

"*Resolved*, That Rev. Dr. McPheeters have leave to withdraw *his paper* just presented.

"The motion to dissolve the pastoral relation recurring, . . . G. P. Strong, Esq., Commissioner from Pine Street Church, took the floor and pressed the dissolution of the pastoral relation between that Church and Rev. Dr. McPheeters. Mr. Strong having concluded, ... the previous question was now called for and carried. The main question, viz.: the dissolution of the pastoral relation, then being put, the ayes and noes were called for. The vote resulted as follows:

"Ayes—Jos. F. Fenton, H. Blackwell, J. J. Porter, S. K. Snead, Thomas Cole, Joseph Marr, S. Pettigrew, J. A. Paige (Ministers); and Wyllys King, A. G. Edwards, Edward Ilsley (Elders).

Noes—J. N. Gilbraith, J. H. Brookes, W. H. Parks, A. D. Madeira, H. F. Albright (Ministers); William Risley, W. W. Greene, Joseph Conway and E. Jaccard (Elders)."

Your memorialists ask the General Assembly to observe in this extraordinary proceeding on the part of Presbytery—first, that the plain letter of the law in Form of Government, Chapter XXII, which says, "the Presbytery shall cite the congregation to appear, by their commissioners, at their next meeting, to show cause, if any they have, why the Presbytery should not accept the resignation," was grossly violated. The Church did not appear by their commissioners, and were not, therefore, permitted, much as they desired it, to show cause why the resignation should not be accepted. Second, George P. Strong was allowed, not to represent, but totally to misrepresent the known wishes of the Church, and to disobey their positive order, which required him to resign his trust as commissioner, if he could not, "in good faith, present and urge upon Presbytery the voice and wishes of the congregation, as expressed in the resolution adopted on the motion of Captain Greene on a fair vote of ninety-one to fifty-six." Third, the resolution adopted by the Presbytery, and upon which the final vote was taken, was "*that the request of Pine Street Church be granted*, and the pastoral relation dissolved;" although Presbytery knew that this resolution was directly contrary to the facts in the case and to the voice of the Church, as expressed in two meetings. Fourth, Dr. McPheeters, in accordance with the urgent request of his Church, asked leave to withdraw his resignation, also assigned reasons why he had felt constrained *not to offer*, but simply to put his resignation into the hands of Presbytery; but the paper which he presented was refused a place on the records, although Presbytery knew that this was the only mode left him of appearing before his brethren for one word of explanation or defense. Fifth, the whole of these remarkable proceedings, from their commencement to their evil consummation, took place while Dr. McPheeters did not have the poor privilege accorded to the meanest of criminals to stand before the bar which virtually tried and condemned him; and while, as soon after appeared, the strong hand of martial law was laid upon the exercise of his ministerial functions without the knowledge or consent of the highest authorities of the and. Sixth, in the adoption of the final resolution to dissolve the pastoral relation, out of the eight ministers who voted for it, but *two* have a pastoral charge; and only *eleven* Ministers and Ruling Elders in all out of about sixty in full Presbytery, sundered a relation which had existed happily and prosperously for twelve years, and that, too, without allowing either the pastor or the commissioners of the Church to be heard.

Your memorialists now ask the attention of your venerable body to the origin of these difficulties, and to the ground upon which the minority of the Church and the Presbytery have manifestly and confessedly proceeded throughout.

In a report made to Presbytery June 30, 1863, by a committee "appointed to inquire fully into the condition of Pine Street Church," you will find the following language, which was received and adopted by Presbytery and spread upon their records, and which, therefore, was accepted as a statement of facts in the case:

"At the request of your committee, the Ruling Elders of Pine Street Church came together last evening (Monday, June 29), and we held with them a full and free conference. Six Ruling Elders were present, embracing all the members of the Session, with the exception of one, who was prevented from meeting with us by reason of advanced age and infirmity.

"The conference was conducted with the design to remove all restraint from a candid expression of opinion, and your committee believe that in arriving at the views of the brethren who were before us we also arrived at the views of the great body of the Church, whose wishes they claimed, and no doubt truthfully, to represent. . . . The committee gathered from the conversation the following statement of facts, which we think it proper to lay before you, in order to aid the Presbytery in reaching a wise decision in the premises:

"Until the return of Dr. McPheeters, the late pastor of the Church, from the General Assembly, which met in Columbus, Ohio, in May, 1862, Pine Street Church, to all appearances at least, was harmonious and happy. Soon after his return a letter was addressed to him by Mr. Strong and one or two others, requesting an expression of his opinion respecting the troubles now distracting our country. Dr. McPheeters declined to give the desired expression, and, after some further correspondence and amid increasing excitement in the Church, he was banished from the State by the military authorities, in the month of December, 1862. The order of banishment was subsequently so far modified as to permit him to remain in Missouri, but he was not allowed to exercise the functions of his ministerial office. In the meantime, two parties were formed in the Church, which continue at variance until this day."

From the foregoing statement the General Assembly will perceive that in the *supposed* disloyalty of Dr. McPheeters we are to find the origin of the troubles which threaten to destroy one of our Churches and to disturb the tranquillity of all our congregations. It will not be asserted that any opposition to him would have arisen in his Church if he had satisfied Mr. Strong *in a public manner* in regard to his loyalty. It will not be asserted that one of the eleven Ministers and Ruling Elders who voted for the dissolution of the pastoral relation would have so voted had he proclaimed his loyalty, according to their standard, in the pulpit or in the daily journals. The lengthy addresses of Mr. Strong in Presbytery were mainly occupied with the attempt to fasten on his pastor the charge of disloyalty. It was boldly asserted on the floor of Presbytery, by one of the oldest ministers, that he had come determined to vote for a dissolution of the pastoral relation because he believed Dr. McPheeters to be a disloyal man, and it was distinctly proclaimed that loyalty was the great question before us, and, in effect, that at such a time exhortations to forbearance, charity and brotherly kindness were worthy only of scorn. Indeed, it will not be denied before your venerable body that the *one* ground upon which the entire proceedings of the minority of the Church and of the Presbytery have been based is the assumption or belief that Dr. McPheeters is not loyal to his Government.

Now, in relation to these charges and insinuations, that have already worked so much mischief among us, your memorialists beg leave to remind the General Assembly, in the first place, that we live in a State which has been distracted by civil war, which is even now held within the rigorous grasp of martial law, and in which, therefore, the whisper of an unknown enemy may subject the private and retiring citizen to suspicion, to imprisonment, and to banishment.

In the second place, Dr. McPheeters has, over and over, declared, in private and also in the public prints, that his refusal to answer Mr. Strong's interrogatories was, and is due solely to a principle which he holds to be sacred—namely: that, *as a minister of the gospel*, he owes allegiance only to the Lord Christ, and hence that, *as such*, he can not, and will not, take part in civil strifes nor give expression to his opinions concerning purely secular questions. In December, 1862, he published "A Card," in which the following language is used:

"Some of the members of my Church claim that, in virtue of the relation in which I stand to them, as a pastor, they have a right to demand, and they have demanded, my written opinion and personal opinion upon the civil and political questions which now agitate the nation. This claim of right I deny, and have felt bound, in duty and conscience, to resist. I did this deliberately, *as a matter of principle*." . . .

"Again, I resisted because the teachings and practice of my whole ministerial life solemnly pledged me to resist. In all places and at all times I have opposed, to the full extent of my ability, the introduction of civil, secular and political questions into the house of God. As a pastor, and because I was a pastor, I have stood aloof from these things, even in my private relations."

Now, whether this position is right or wrong, wise or foolish, your memorialists do not undertake to decide; they only insist that Dr. McPheeters solemnly declares the motive which has controlled his conduct has had no reference to either party engaged in the present struggle; and hence it was exceedingly uncharitable in Presbytery to predicate their action upon the presumption that a man so well known in the community, and so universally esteemed hitherto for his integrity and piety, had studiously concealed the true reasons which decided his course, and had been guilty of falsehood.

In the third place, inasmuch as Presbytery practically adjudged Dr. McPheeters to be unworthy of his place as pastor of Pine Street Church, because of his *supposed* opinions touching great questions of State, and inasmuch as these supposed opinions constitute, in their judgment, an offense that renders him a proper subject for discipline, your memorialists ask the General Assembly to direct that Presbytery proceed regularly and constitutionally to table charges against him, and not to condemn him unheard. If he had been guilty of the grossest sins known in the catalogue of crimes, our noble Constitution requires that he have a fair and impartial hearing; how much more so when he asserts that the real issue between him and his adversaries has been lost in the introduction of questions wholly irrelevant to the true merits of the case.

In the fourth place, your memorialists would remind your venerable body that in Missouri it is exceedingly difficult to determine what is, and what is not loyalty, according to any human standard. The late Governor of the State—than whom a purer patriot never lived—was bitterly denounced as "disloyal," and the spotless beauty of his Christian character could not protect him, even in his grave, against cruel calumny and relentless detraction. The late Commanding General of the Department of the Missouri was constantly declared to be "disloyal;" members of the Cabinet at Washington are proclaimed, every day among us, to be "disloyal," and the President of the United States himself is charged with being a "rebel sympathizer," who ought to have been hanged long ago. In a community, therefore, where the standard of loyalty is ever shifting to meet the whims of uneasy political parties, and where multitudes even of professed Christians seem to have lost all reason and all religion, and to be led captive by Satan at his will, it is no easy matter to determine whether a man is or is not loyal, according to the popular standard. But if a minister of Jesus Christ is to be adjudged by the divine standard revealed in the Sacred Scriptures, and if a court of Jesus Christ is bound to regard the divine standard alone in dealing with their brethren, then your memorialists unhesitatingly assert that Dr. McPheeters conforms to *that* standard, and that the action of the Presbytery was unjust and unfair in the extreme. He openly announces his recognized obligations to "be subject to the powers that be," and his enemies have been challenged in vain to point to one word or one act inconsistent with those obligations. If such word or act can be fairly pointed out, your memorialists hereby agree to withdraw all interest and effort in his behalf, and to consign him to his just deserts at the hands of a Presbytery which has shown every disposition to deal with him in the utmost severity.

In the same "Card" to which we have already alluded, Dr. McPheeters expresses his views as follows:

"I have no commission to uphold the State; much less have I any to seek its overthrow. For me to use, in any way or to any degree, my sacred office, or the influence which it gives me, to subvert the State, to breed discontents in it, to hinder its legitimate action, would, in my esteem, be sacrilege—a high and heaven-daring sin. As a citizen, I hold it to be a most important and indispensable part of my duty to God to obey law, to submit to the authorities, to pray for them, to render them the honor due their several stations, and to promote peace and quietness. These things, I solemnly declare, I have habitually aimed to do."

Again, in a published correspondence with Mr. George P. Strong, he writes:

"I am not ignorant of the fact that rumors have been circulated, and printed, too, charging me, directly or indirectly, with disloyalty. I know, also, it is a day of rumors, and falsehood, and detraction; and the only notice I have felt called upon to take of these things has been to contradict them by the quiet tenor of my life. I have thought, yea, and I still think, that the 'rumors of disloyalty' need not alarm one who, recognizing civil government as 'ordained of God,' has been 'subject' unto it, not only for wrath, but for conscience sake; who, in obedience to the Divine command, has 'submitted himself to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake'; who has 'rendered to all their dues—tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom custom, fear to whom fear, and honor to whom honor,' and who, in public and in private, has prayed for those who are in authority. All this I claim to have done, habitually and as a part of my duty to God; and, to bring this matter to an issue, let me say, there are civil, military and ecclesiastical courts, and that I do now challenge any and all men—all makers, and spreaders, and indorsers of these rumors—to prove, before any of these tribunals, an act that I have done, or a word that I have said, that a good citizen has not a perfect right to do or say."

Now, it is true, the foregoing declaration of principles did not seem to convince the Provost-Marshal that Dr. McPheeters was sufficiently loyal to be allowed the privilege of preaching the Gospel; but we ask the General Assembly to determine whether the declaration is, or is not, in strict accordance with the teachings of God's Word, and whether a Presbytery, *as such*, had a right to demand any further declaration. And yet the avowed reason (not upon the records, but upon the floor of Presbytery and in the community), for dissolving the pastoral relation between him and his Church is his disloyalty. It must be evident to your venerable body that, if such a declaration is not deemed satisfactory to a Church court, then the spiritual welfare of our people will depend upon the political views of those who constitute a majority in our Presbyteries, or who are permitted to meet by our military authorities.

In the fifth place, it is asserted, upon the testimony which your memorialists are bound to receive as credible, that a larger number of loyal persons can be found among those who have sustained Dr. McPheeters throughout than can be found among his persecutors. It is also within the personal knowledge of many of your memorialists that his Session is composed of men who are not only loyal according to the scriptural standard, but Union men according to the political standard. Of nearly all of them have some of your memorialists heard, as outspoken, earnest and decided in their support of the Government, and in their opposition to secession, from the very beginning of our troubles. How does it happen, then, that so many thorough Union men, who have associated daily and intimately with their pastor, can not discover that he has been in any wise faithless to his duties as a citizen, while it was reserved for a Presbytery, very few of whose members were at all familiar with him, to detect the taint of disloyalty and banish him from his Church?

In the sixth place, we ask the Assembly to note the following paper, voluntarily signed by Dr. McPheeters, and laid before Major-General Rosecrans, commanding the Department of the Missouri:

"We, the undersigned, hereby certify that we have each taken the oath of allegiance to the Provisional Government of Missouri and to the Government of the United States of America.

"We also solemnly affirm that we will support the Constitution and laws thereof, and that we will not give aid and comfort to the enemies of either.

We desire and purpose to conduct ourselves in all respects as good citizens, and to 'be subject to the powers that be,' in accordance with the teachings of God's Word.

"As a matter of principle, however, and because we recognize the Headship of Jesus Christ alone in His Church, we can not allow any human authority to determine the qualifications of members who compose our Ecclesiastical Courts.

"We, therefore, respectfully request the Commanding General to allow us, as loyal citizens, to assemble without let or hindrance, in order to transact business connected only with the Redeemer's Kingdom, and without requiring us to obey Order No. 61, that seems, at least, to interfere with the liberty and purity of the Church.

"We assure you, General, that our request is not dictated by a captious or fault-finding spirit; and in proof of this assurance we shall not resist your authority, but quietly remain at home instead of attending the Ecclesiastical Court which is about to convene at Kirkwood, unless our request can be granted."

To this communication no reply has yet been made, and, therefore, neither Dr. McPheeters nor the majority of your memorialists could conscientiously attend the recent meeting of Presbytery which convened on the 6th of April, 1864. If, however, a refusal to attend under the surveillance of a Provost-Marshal (who was urged to be present and administer the oath at the opening of Presbytery by two persons who have been very active in their opposition to Dr. McPheeters); if, we say, this can be brought against Dr. McPheeters, as a proof of disloyalty, then may it with equal propriety be alleged against some of our leading religious journals, and against several of the most distinguished Union men, both in Church and State.

Previous to this recent meeting, however, the President of the United States, as soon as he learned of the order forbidding Dr. McPheeters to exercise his ministerial office, promptly relieved him of the disability under which he labored from military interference, and expressed surprise at such interference, as involving disobedience to his own positive commands.

It is not strange, therefore, that, in compliance with the earnest desire of his Session and Church, he resumed his pastoral labors. An appeal and complaint to Synod, found to be in order, as the records of Synod show, were then, and still are, pending; and inasmuch as the final effect of the action of Presbytery was stayed until the case could be heard and issued before the higher court, your memorialists can not see that he was wrong in re-entering the field to which God's providence was manifestly pointing him, and in which God's blessings manifestly accompanied him. The congregation, as some of your memorialists personally know, were large, attentive and solemn; the Church was receiving considerable accessions, both by letter and upon profession of faith; some of the minority appeared to be well contented with having their old pastor among them again, while others of them had withdrawn, or were preparing to withdraw, in peace; and after a year of sore trial Pine Street Church had a brighter promise of usefulness than even before her afflictions.

But this scene of tranquillity and of joy was destined to be of brief continuance. At the regular spring meeting of Presbytery, April 6, 1864, which was attended by only eighteen out of about sixty Ministers and Ruling Elders, because of a military order touching Ecclesiastical Assemblies, the following extraordinary action was taken upon a memorial signed by *nine* members of Pine Street Church, asking "that such action may be taken in the premises as to compel Dr. McPheeters to respect the decision of Presbytery and retire from Pine Street Church, and that such other relief may be afforded as to your body may seem meet and proper."

"Elder George P. Strong, of Pine Street Church, being present in the house" (but not as a member of Presbytery), "was invited to address Presbytery on the subject. . . .

"The following was moved by the Rev. H. I. Coe:

"'*Resolved*, That the memorial of a number of members of Pine Street Presbyterian Church be referred to the Standing Committee of Presbytery on the Affairs of the Church, with instructions to report at a called or at the next regular meeting of Presbytery, as they may deem expedient.'

"Pending the discussion of this resolution, Rev. J. J. Porter moved the following substitute:

"'The memorial of certain members of Pine Street Church having been presented, after discussion it was resolved as follows:

"'1. By action of Presbytery of June, 1863, the pastoral relation between Dr. McPheeters and Pine Street Church was dissolved, and Dr. McPheeters ceased to be the pastor of that Church and ceased to have the right to exercise discipline or perform the functions of the pastoral office in that Church.

"'2. *That, inasmuch as this action was taken by Presbytery, in the exercise of its power to ordain whatever pertains to the spiritual welfare of the Churches under their care*, and is its solemn judgment that the interests of

Pine Street Church require that Dr. McPheeters shall cease to exercise the functions of minister to that Church; therefore, resolved,' " &c.

Now, not to speak of the impropriety and irregularity exhibited in going back to explain the grounds of action in a meeting of Presbytery, composed in part of different members, your memorialists ask the Assembly to observe that the Presbytery shifts its position with regard to the reasons for dissolving the pastoral relation. At the meeting in June, 1863, the only reason assigned was, because Pine Street Church had requested the dissolution; but it seems that, upon reflection, this position was found to be altogether untenable, in the light of notorious facts; and hence it now appears that the "action was taken by the Presbytery in the exercise of its power to ordain whatever pertains to the spiritual welfare of the Churches under their care."

But while it is true that such is the general power conferred by the Constitution of the Church upon Presbytery, it is a power plainly modified and limited by specific regulations, and can be applied only in the mode and by the laws made and provided for its execution. Now, Chapter XVII, Form of Government, clearly states the manner in which a pastoral relation must be dissolved; and, notwithstanding the *general* law by which Presbyteries "order whatever pertains to the spiritual welfare of the Churches under their care," they are bound to be governed by the special rules prescribed for their direction.

The General Assembly, however, will perceive the difficulty under which Presbytery labored with respect to Dr. McPheeters and Pine Street Church. The requirements of the Book in this case were completely set aside, as neither he nor his congregation was heard, and Presbytery was compelled to fall back upon its general power as its last defense. But a more dangerous assumption of power, your memorialists believe, was never proclaimed; and unless promptly arrested in its exercise it must work incalculable mischief among our churches. If this bold declaration of power receives the sanction of our higher courts, it is manifest that the Presbytery of St. Louis, composed as it has been, to a great extent, for more than a year past, of persons who have no pastoral charge, and some of whom have but recently come into the Old School Church, may assemble at any time and dissolve any pastoral relation they may choose to dissolve, without even permitting the minister and his people to be heard.

Your memorialists, therefore, pray your venerable body to withhold the sanction of your high authority from proceedings so unconstitutional, so ungenerous and so unjust, and to order the immediate restoration of Dr. McPheeters to his pastoral charge. Such action we are sure will promote the peace and prosperity of our Churches, unite the affections of our people by still closer ties to the General Assembly, and save us from great and manifold troubles.

That the Great Head of the Church, by the communications of His grace, and by the enlightening of His Holy Spirit, may guide you in your deliberations upon this and upon every other matter coming before you, is the earnest prayer of your memorialists.

This memorial was signed by a majority of the Ministers and Sessions of St. Louis Presbytery.

SPEECH OF HON. WM. T. WOOD.

MODERATOR—I trust that the importance of the judicial case, upon the discussion of which I am about to enter, will secure to me a patient hearing by the General Assembly. No more important judicial case has ever been before our Church courts, for the effect of the decision you are to render will not be confined to Pine Street Church in St. Louis, but its influence, for good or for evil, will extend to all our Churches throughout our whole country. I appreciate the responsibility of my position in appearing before you. I well remember the place and presence in which I speak. I know there has been much feeling excited by the facts of this case, but, sir, it shall be my aim to say nothing that will excite feeling, nothing that will offend or wound the feelings of any; I will comment only on such facts as are necessary to a right understanding of the case.

In giving my consent, on the urgent solicitations of my brother Elders, who have complained to the General Assembly, to represent them here, I did not do so in any vain expectation that I could, by any efforts of mine, in the slightest degree, influence the action of this learned and venerable body, composed of men whose lives have been devoted to just such studies as supplied them with just such practical knowledge as will eminently fit them to decide properly any and all questions involved in this unhappy controversy; but I am here that my presence may be a living, tangible evidence that the members of Pine Street Church are in earnest in asserting their sacred claim of right to choose their own pastor and to bear testimony to their warm and devoted attachment to him.

Moderator, if there be a fault that Dr. McPheeters is still a party to a contest in his Church, it is not a fault to be laid to his charge. I know how willingly he would have resigned his charge and withdrawn from a strife abhorent to every feeling of his nature. From the beginning, and at all times, he would have done so if he could have left the Church in more of peace and harmony, or if he could have had the consent of his people; but unwilling to yield him up a victim to wrong, they have uniformly and steadfastly protested against it, and, constrained by a sense of duty, he still remains in the position to which, in the Providence of God, he has been called, ready to endure trials and persecutions in any form they may be permitted to assume.

Moderator, I know all about the troubles in Pine Street Church from the time they commenced until now, and, were it allowable, if I should give you their history, with necessary comments, it would require more of labor than I am willing to undergo, and consume more of the time of this General Assembly than can or ought to be devoted to a single case. The remarks which I shall submit shall be confined to the complaint made by members of the Session of the Church against the action of Presbytery at its recent session, whereby they excluded Dr. McPheeters from the pulpit of Pine Street Church and required him to cease all connection with the Church. In thus confining the remarks which I shall submit, I wish it distinctly understood that our whole case will not be told. A mass of matter containing ground of serious complaint against a minority in the Church will be wholly untouched.

In the consideration of every case it is of the first importance that the issues involved be clearly understood and comprehended. Now, what are the issues in this case? And this is a question more easily asked than answered.

The action of the inferior court complained of is the exclusion of Dr. McPheeters from his pulpit, and requiring him to cease to exercise the function of a pastor or minister to his Church, and to cease all connection with the Church. To get at the issues we must go behind the action itself and examine the case made out for its foundation.

The proceedings as first began against Dr. McPheeters were inaugurated by the call of a special meeting of Presbytery on the request of three Ministers and four Elders, only one of the Ministers having a charge, three of the Elders being of Mr. Porter's Church, and of the whole number of Ministers and Elders, only one Elder a member of Pine Street Church.

This meeting was called, as expressed in the call, "to dissolve the pastoral relation between that (Pine Street) Church and Rev. Samuel B. McPheeters, D. D." It was not a call at the request of either pastor or people.

This special meeting convened on the 15th May, 1863, and was composed of only sixteen out of nearly sixty Ministers and Elders in the Presbytery. It is but right that the General Assembly should know why so few were in attendance, and the cause will be found stated in the seventh clause of complaint. It was "a time of much excitement growing out of the rebellion, and when martial law was in full force and vigorously enforced;" and on the day Presbytery met it was said on the streets that if Dr. McPheeters' friends attended Presbytery they would be arrested, and on this account a number went home who had come intending to participate in the proceedings—that two of them were actually arrested and imprisoned. It was under these circumstances, and on information deemed reliable, that his friends were in danger of prison, and himself and family of banishment, and with but little hope of serving his Church, as he was then excluded from the pulpit, that Dr. McPheeters consulted with friends and was constrained to place his resignation in the hands of Presbytery, and to advise his friends not to attend.

This was done with the hope that the delay necessary, before final action, as it was supposed that could not be had until after the next meeting of Presbytery, would give time for reflection and returning reason.

On receiving Dr. McPheeters' letter of resignation the nature of the proceedings was at once changed, and Presbytery adopted an order under the seventeenth chapter of the Form of Government in these words. (See Memorial, page 4.) To this seventeenth chapter, which contains but a single section, I ask the careful attention of the General Assembly. I will read it before I sit down.

The members of the Church and congregation, in obedience to the citation, held a meeting on the day appointed, and, after many obstacles and delays, succeeded in reaching a vote about midnight, when they resolved, by a vote of ninety-one to fifty-six, "That the meeting do not agree to, and protest against the dissolution of the existing relation with Rev. Samuel B. McPheeters as pastor of Pine Street Church, and that we request him to withdraw his resignation offered to St. Louis Presbytery." Immediately after this resolution was adopted, a member offered matter foreign to the object of the meeting, likely to consume time at that late hour of the night, and the majority not knowing the necessity of appointing a commissioner "to show cause why the Presbytery should not accept the resignation," left the house and went home, and then, immediately, although there was a motion to adopt it unanimously, the mover withdrew it, that a commissioner might be appointed by the minority, who remained to represent the Church in Presbytery, with instructions not "to show cause why Presbytery should not accept the resignation," but "to urge the dissolution of the pastoral relation," and this in violation of the seventeenth chapter, under which they were proceeding, in disregard of the vote and voice of the congregation, and against all rule, without a motion to reconsider the vote taken.

Let it not be forgotten that this meeting of Presbytery of the 3d of June was a *pro-re-nata* meeting, and in order to meet the requirements of the seventeenth chapter, and take their final action at a "*next meeting*," as required by Form of Government, Presbytery adjourned from the 3d to the 23d of June, deciding that they could make the *next meeting* by adjourning to another day. On the 22d of June there was a meeting of the members of the Church, called at a regular meeting of the Session. At this meeting the members of the Church re-affirmed the resolution of Captain Greene, adopted at the former meeting, and required the commissioner thus appointed in the manner stated to resign, unless he could and would in good faith present and urge upon the Presbytery the true voice and wishes of the congregation, as expressed in the resolution adopted on motion of Captain Greene. (See proceedings, Memorial, page 5.)

On the next day, the 23d June, the new *pro-re-nata* meeting of Presbytery met, and the proceedings of the two meetings of the congregation, properly certified, showing the action I have stated, were laid before and read in open Presbytery. A paper from Dr. McPheeters, asking leave to withdraw his resignation placed in their hands, and stating the reasons which constrained him to place it in their hands, was read to Presbytery. This paper Presbytery refused to consider, refused to place it upon the records of Presbytery, and ordered that he have leave to withdraw it. The minutes of Presbytery show these entries: "Mr. Strong having concluded, *it was moved that the request of the Pine Street Church be granted* and the pastoral relation dissolved." "Pending this motion Rev. J. H. Brookes asked leave to read a paper from Rev. Dr. McPheeters. The leave was granted, and the paper was heard. Rev. Dr. McPheeters having *asked leave* to withdraw *his resignation*, already put in the hands of Presbytery, and that the whole paper be spread on the records, it was, on motion of Elder A. G. Edwards, "*Resolved*, That Rev. Dr. McPheeters have leave to withdraw *his paper just presented*.

"The motion to dissolve the pastoral relation recurring, . . . G. P. Strong, Esq., Commissioner from Pine Street Church, took the floor and pressed the dissolution of the pastoral relation between that Church and Rev. Dr. McPheeters. Mr. Strong having concluded, &c., the previous question was now called for and carried. The main question, viz.: the dissolution of the pastoral relation, then being put, the ayes and noes were called for. Ayes 11, noes 9."

The minutes of Presbytery show that Elder W. W. Greene was a member representing Pine Street Church. The minutes also show that Elder Greene gave notice in open Presbytery that he intended to complain to Synod against the action of Presbytery in dissolving the pastoral relation, and on due notice Elder Greene made out, in writing, his appeal and complaint to Synod in his own name, as a representative of the Session of Pine Street Church, and in the name of a majority of the congregation.

The minutes of Synod are here, and show that this appeal and complaint was duly received and recognized, and decided to be in order and entered upon the docket of Synod for hearing, and is still there pending and undisposed of.

Now, it was while this appeal was thus pending before Synod, about January, 1864, that Dr. McPheeters and the Church and the public, for the first time, learned from Mr. Lincoln, the President of the United States, that he had, in January, 1863, ordered Gen. Curtis, commanding the Department of the Missouri, to restore Dr. McPheeters to his rights and privileges as a minister, and that he (Mr. Lincoln) had supposed that this order had been obeyed.

This letter of Mr. Lincoln was shown to Gen. Totten, then commanding the Department of the Missouri in the absence of Gen. Schofield, and with his knowledge Dr. McPheeters reoccupied his pulpit, in accordance with the wishes of six out of seven Elders of the Church, and a large majority of its members—all believing it was not only his right, but his duty to resume his labor as Pastor until final action could be had on the appeal to Synod.

Thus matters stood until a day or two before the spring session of Presbytery, on the 6th of April, 1864. A few days before this Gen. Rosecrans, commanding the Department of the Missouri, had issued an order—No. 61, I believe—since generally known as "the Church order." By this order our Ecclesiastical Courts, before organizing, were required to ascertain who had and who had not taken a certain oath prescribed in the order as necessary to make the members eligible, and a Provost-Marshal was required to be present at the organization and see the order enforced; and a failure to comply on the part of the court, or any of its members, was made a military offense.

A number of the members of Presbytery believed they could not carry out this order without ignoring the Headship of Jesus Christ in His Church, without surrendering the independence of the Church, and without violating their own ordination vows to support and maintain the Church Constitution. I simply state the fact that they believed thus. I argue not the question whether they were right or wrong. Believing this, a number of them, among whom was Dr. McPheeters, joined in addressing a letter to Gen. Rosecrans, requesting him to permit them to attend Presbytery "without let or hindrance as loyal citizens," certifying that they had taken the oath of allegiance prescribed by our Convention. This letter was read to the General Assembly in the complaint of Dr. McPheeters. It was never answered. Others heard or knew of it who did not sign it. None who held the same views attended Presbytery; and thus was Presbytery left to be composed of only eighteen out of nearly sixty members.

I ought, perhaps, further to add that it was spoken of and known that one of the members who did attend Presbytery, in company with an Elder, visited the Provost-Marshal-General and requested and urged him to send a Deputy Provost-Marshal to be present at the organization and sitting of Presbytery.

It was under these circumstances that a memorial, signed by nine members of Pine Street Church, was hastily got up and presented to Presbytery on the second and last day of its session, charging Dr. McPheeters with conduct revolutionary and contumacious, and asking "that such action may be taken in the premises as to compel him to respect the decision of Presbytery and retire from Pine Street Church, and that such other relief may be afforded as to your body may seem meet and proper."

The minutes show that "Elder George P. Strong, of Pine Street Church, being present in the house (he was not there as a member), was invited to address Presbytery on the subject."

Whereupon, it was resolved as follows:

"1. By action of Presbytery of June, 1863, the pastoral relation between Dr. McPheeters and Pine Street Church was dissolved, and Dr. McPheeters ceased to be the pastor of that Church and ceased to have the right to exercise discipline or perform the functions of the pastoral office in that Church.

"2. That inasmuch as this action was taken by Presbytery, in the exercise of its power to ordain whatever pertains to the spiritual welfare of the Church, and under their care, and is its solemn judgment that the interest of Pine Street Church requires that Dr. McPheeters shall cease to exercise the functions of minister to that Church; therefore, resolved," etc.

Against this action Dr. McPheeters and six of the seven members of the Session have complained to this Assembly.

And a memorial from the majority of ministers and elders, in the bounds of Presbytery, protesting against the action complained of as unconstitutional, ungenerous and unjust, and asking the immediate restoration of Dr. McPheeters to his charge, has been sent to this body.

I will call the attention of the General Assembly to one additional fact which shall close my statement of facts: that is this—that from the beginning of these prosecutions to the close of them Dr. McPheeters has never had the opportunity to appear in his own defense or vindication. Every proceeding has been *ex parte*, and all facts deemed necessary to sustain the action of Presbytery have been assumed, none have been proven. This I say not at random; I ask the General Assembly to examine the record, and if anything can be proved having the character or semblance of proof, I have never been able to find it. And yet these proceedings have been of the gravest character. They have terminated in sundering the dearest and most sacred relation on earth, save only that of husband and wife, and of parent and child, in taking away the sacred right of a Presbyterian people to choose a pastor for themselves, and in casting suspicion on, and with it doing the most serious injury to a minister of the Church of Jesus Christ, than whom few have or ought to have a higher name for talent, integrity, piety and usefulness. More than this, they have brought affliction and sorrow upon a little flock of Christians bound by ties of strongest affection to their pastor, who, too, loved them in return—a flock that was a model flock before the fell spirit of discord was so wantonly enkindled among them. Moderator, this is a startling feature in this proceeding.

The man charged with the highest crime or the lowest misdemeanor, or with debt, even one cent indebtedness, is entitled to notice, and has the right to be heard by himself and witnesses. Surely I am not mistaken in saying the noble Constitution of the Presbyterian Church, claimed, and justly claimed, as having furnished the model on which our own glorious civil Constitution was formed, does not and can not warrant *ex parte* proceedings involving questions affecting the most sacred rights and entailing evils and wrongs of such magnitude.

And I ask the General Assembly, in this connection, to let it not be forgotten, that while Dr. McPheeters has not been allowed the opportunity, or permitted on his own urgent request, to attend and defend himself against these proceedings, the prosecutor has always attended, and been allowed the largest liberty of a hearing.

These are the prominent and substantial facts connected with the grounds of complaint assigned. It is still left for these grounds of complaint to indicate and develop the issues for hearing before the General Assembly.

These grounds of complaint are numbered from 1 to 7. I will give them, in substantial abbreviation.

1. That a majority of the members of the Presbytery did not, and could not, attend Presbytery at its meeting on 6th April, 1864, the time of the action complained of, because of military orders in force, leaving the Presbytery, although a quorum, still a small minority, only eighteen out of nearly sixty.

2. The action of Presbytery complained of was had and taken in the absence of Dr. McPheeters, and without notice to him, and without his having opportunity to be heard; and being thus had and taken, concluded him guilty of grave fault, and expelled him from his pulpit.

3. That Presbytery erred in deciding that the right of Dr. McPheeters to perform the functions of pastor or minister in Pine Street Church ceased from the time of their former action, notwithstanding the appeal made and pending from action to Synod.

4. That the action of Presbytery complained of was based, in part, on *ex parte* verbal statements of George P. Strong and others, of which no record was kept, and of the nature and character of which neither Dr. McPheeters nor this General Assembly can have any knowledge.

5. The action of Presbytery is violative of principles cherished by Presbytery, which in the congregation give the controlling power to the majority; is unjust to the majority, disastrous to the Church and injurious to the interests of religion.

6. Because the action of Presbytery complained of is based, in most part, on the act of Presbytery of 23d June, 1863, whereby Presbytery dissolved the pastoral relation, on the alleged ground that it was done on request of Pine Street Church; whereas complainants allege that the records show that

no such request was ever made, but, on the contrary, they made solemn protest against it, by vote of 91 to 56, and reaffirmed this vote at another congregational meeting, and instructed Mr. Strong, in good faith, to represent and urge their true voice.

7. There was no emergency that did not exist and was not fully known to the Presbytery just closed before the first *pro-re-nata* meeting to dissolve the pastoral relation. (See 10th sec. 10th chap. Form of Gov.)

Because the time was improper, such as to make it certain there would be but few members in attendance; because the proceedings were hastened through special, small and partial meetings of Presbytery; and because the resignation of Dr. McPheeters, placed in the hands of Presbytery, was not so placed on his free choice, but was constrained by the pressure of surrounding circumstances.

These make up the grounds of complaint; and having already stated the facts substantially, the question again recurs, What are the questions and issues properly and legitimately before the General Assembly for their decision? I state the questions and issues thus:

1. Is it true that a majority of the members of Presbytery did not, and could not, attend by reason of military orders? And if so, how does this fact affect the validity or propriety of the action of Presbytery complained of?

2. Is it true that the action of Presbytery was had and taken in the absence of Dr. McPheeters, and without notice, and without his having opportunity to be heard? and does it conclude him guilty of grave fault? and how do these facts affect the propriety of the proceedings?

3. Is the decision of Presbytery right, that the appeal to Synod did not suspend proceedings, and leave Dr. McPheeters the right to perform ministerial functions in his Church?

4. Is it true that Presbytery, in part, based its action on *ex parte* statements of George P. Strong and others, made verbally, and not kept on record? If so, is this an irregularity affecting the propriety of the proceedings?

5. Was the action of Presbytery in disregard of the voice and rights of the majority of the congregation? Was it injurious to Pine Street Church and to the interests of religion?

6. Is it true that Presbytery dissolved the pastoral relation on the ground that the dissolution was requested by Pine Street Church? Did Pine Street Church request the dissolution? Did the congregation object to and protest against the dissolution? Did Presbytery receive Mr. Strong as com-

missioner to urge the dissolution against the known instructions of the congregation? Ought not Presbytery, under the circumstances, to have delayed action until, through a commissioner, they could hear and know the reasons of the congregation "why the resignation ought not to be accepted?" Proceeding without such hearing, the congregation unrepresented, are not the acts of Presbytery *coram non judice* and void?

7. Was the *pro-re-nata* meeting of Presbytery called on account of any "emergency" or "important occurrences" unknown at their last meeting? Was the time improper, on account of unusual excitement and the prevalence of martial law preventing the attendance of members? Were the proceedings unnecessarily hastened through special, small and partial meetings? Was the resignation of Dr. McPheeters placed in the hands of Presbytery freely and of his voluntary choice, or was that act constrained by the pressure of circumstances?

Is a *pro-re-nata* meeting (a "next meeting") within the meaning of the XVIIth Chapter?

Now, Moderator, I have gone through a statement of the facts, and of the grounds of complaint, and have fairly and fully stated every question and issue properly and legitimately involved in the case. I doubt not that many who may have given me their attention are suprised that another issue is not also involved in this case—namely, an issue involving the question of the loyalty and good faith of Dr. McPheeters to the Civil Government. But, sir, there is no such issue in the case—never has been. No such charge has ever been tabled against him. He has never been called upon to plead to such a charge. No evidence has ever been offered, or pretended to be offered, of his disloyalty. He has never been afforded the opportunity to meet such an accusation by evidence before any tribunal, civil, military or ecclesiastical. It is true, the public has seen and heard, in speeches and publications, insinuations and inuendoes; and the local Provost-Marshal in St. Louis, without the form of charge, or trial, or hearing, perhaps on secret information furnished by some of the *loving* friends of Dr. McPheeters, assumed him to be disloyal. No, sir; no such charge has ever been tabled against him or presented in a place or form to admit of his defense. And neither the Session nor members of his Church have ever adhered to him, or sustained him because of disloyalty or Southern sympathy, as has been slanderously insinuated.

I ask the General Assembly to hear Dr. McPheeters' own language on this subject. I read them as they are given in the memorial of a majority of the Ministers and Elders of St. Louis Presbytery to the Assembly. (The declaration of Dr. McPheeters, given in Memorial, pages 7 and 8, was here read.) You see here how he acknowledges and asserts his true and just allegiance to the Government. You have heard that he voluntarily subscribed and took a solemn oath of allegiance, invoking the judgment of his God on his failure faithfully to keep and observe it. Whatever may be the faults or sins of Dr. McPheeters, hypocrisy is not one of them; bad faith and falsehood are not of them. You may confide in his word—you may rely upon his oath. I have said this much on the subject, not because it is a fact to be passed on in the issues of this case, but to remove any erroneous impressions that may have been made, and any prejudices engendered by rumors, or insinuations, or unproved charges, whether made publicly or privately.

Some may ask themselves why Dr. McPheeters has left this point without evidence. Why has he not introduced witnesses and proved his loyalty to the Government? Now, to such I say, don't forget that Dr. McPheeters has had no opportunity to be heard or give any evidence in this case. And don't forget that if he had even been present, resisting the action of Presbytery, that, as there was no charge of disloyalty, it was not competent for him to offer evidence on that point, and no court could have heard it. And I now say, that to offer such a ground here for sustaining the action of the Presbytery would be a mockery of justice and an insult to the understanding and justice of the judges of this high court of the Church and a violation of the plainest provisions of our Book of Discipline. CHAPTER II, SEC. 5.—"*If any person shall spread the knowledge of an offense, unless so far as shall be unavoidable in prosecuting it before the proper judicatory*, or in the due performance of some other indispensable duty, he shall be liable to censure as a slanderer of his brethren."

I will now return to the true issues in the case, and dispose of them as briefly as possible. And here, again, let me remind the General Assembly that the proceeding entertained and prosecuted before Presbytery was under the single and only section of the seventeenth chapter of Form of Government. I will read that section:

"CHAPTER XVII.—*Of resigning a pastoral charge.*—When any minister shall labor under such grievances in his congregation as that he shall desire leave to resign his pastoral charge, the Presbytery shall cite the congregation to appear, by their Commissioners, at their next meeting, to show cause, if any they have, why the Presbytery should not accept the resignation. If the congregation fail to appear, or if their reasons for retaining their pastor be deemed insufficient, he shall have leave granted to resign his pastoral charge, of which due record shall be made; and that Church shall be held to be vacant until supplied again with another minister; and if any congregation shall desire to be released from their pastor, a similar process, *mutatis mutandis*, shall be observed."

This proceeding was not on the application of the congregation to be released from their pastor, but it was on the resignation of the pastor placed in the hands of Presbytery. It is not required that the pastor desiring to resign shall assign any reason for his resignation, but only and simply that he shall *desire leave to resign*. In order that leave may be granted, it is not required that the pastor be guilty of any fault, nor is it necessary that his people shall be at fault. The leave will not be granted merely because the pastor wills and desires it; the people of his charge are to be consulted, and it is *their constitutional right*, under this Chapter, to be heard in their reasons "*why the resignation should not be accepted*." There is no authority for the congregation to send Commissioners to urge acceptance of the resignation and a dissolution of the pastoral relation. They need only "*fail to appear*" if they do not oppose the resignation, and leave will be quietly granted. And thus the peace and repose of the Church is preserved, without crimination or recrimination, and the end both parties desire fully accomplished. It is only when the congregation "desires to be released from their pastor," and are opposed by their pastor, that it is proper for the congregation to send Commissioners to urge the dissolution. By a fiction in this case the minority was considered the majority.

But my object in calling attention to this chapter and the proceedings under it at this stage of my remarks, is to show, as this chapter in terms too clear to be disputed does show, that Dr. McPheeters having offered his resignation when the congregation was cited to appear, as they were by Presbytery, there was no room or chance or authority for an issue or controversy as between him and his opposers, but only between him and his friends in the congregation who desired to retain him as pastor and opposed his resignation. They only could make an issue with him, and only then, when a majority of the congregation, they had the right to notice and citation, the right in public meeting of the congregation to resolve and protest against the acceptance of the resignation, the right to send Commissioners to Presbytery to urge "their reasons for retaining their pastor." All this is too clear to be disputed, and yet we have the strange anomaly in this case of a resignation by the pastor, of a denial and ejection of a majority of the congregation from their right to be heard "why the resignation should not be accepted," and the reception and hearing of a Commissioner from the minority to urge acceptance of the resignation and a dissolution of the pastoral relation; and, strangest of all, an entry on the solemn and sacred records of Presbytery, a High Court of Jesus Christ, "that the request of Pine Street Church be granted and the pastoral relation dissolved," when no such request had ever been made; on the contrary, a solemn protest against it.

And another entry, not less strange, at another and recent meeting of Presbytery, giving as a ground for dissolving the pastoral relation, not the ground stated of record by the Presbytery which ordered the dissolution, to-wit: "*the request of Pine Street Church*," but in these words: "*That inasmuch as this action was taken by Presbytery in the exercise of its power to ordain whatever pertains to the spiritual welfare of the Churches under their care*," &c. Had this been so, a proceeding essentially different from the one adopted in this case would have been necessary. Moderator, we must observe and adhere to proper forms and modes of proceeding, if we would avoid confusion, protect the rights of parties, and insure the ends of justice.

I will come back to the specific grounds of complaint, as alleged.

1. Is it true that a majority of the members of Presbytery did not and could not attend by reason of military orders? And if so, how does this fact affect the validity or propriety of the action of Presbytery?

The minutes of Presbytery show that only eighteen members were in attendance, and it has appeared from other papers before the General Assembly that the whole number is nearly sixty. Then it is clear that only a small minority was in attendance. Why was it that a large majority were absent? The General Assembly has the answer to this question given in the memorial in the hands of the General Assembly, from members composing that majority.

Speaking of the letter addressed to Gen. Rosecrans on the subject of his Church order already alluded to, they say: "*To this communication no reply has yet been made, and, therefore, neither Dr. McPheeters nor the majority of your memorialists could conscientiously attend the recent meeting of Presbytery which convened on the 6th of April,* 1864. Then it is clear the majority did not attend, and that they did not attend because of this military order.

Now, whether the conscientious scruples of these brethren were well grounded I will not argue. I defer to the superior learning and knowledge of the fathers in this General Assembly.

It suffices for me that they abstained from attendance out of respect for the military authorities of the Government, to whose order they believed they could not conform without a violation of their ordination vows, and without admitting a power outside of the Church to fix the qualifications and eligibility of the members of the Church Courts. I ought to add that there was, with many who did not attend Presbytery, the greatest anxiety to be present, as is manifest to the General Assembly from the letter addressed to Gen. Rosecrans. Letters were addressed to learned ministers of the Church, where they were free from the disturbed condition of things prevalent in Missouri, for their opinions and advice, and their opinions and advice concurred with the views of the majority. The leading journals of the Church concurred in the same view.

Now, I respectfully ask the General Assembly if this was a proper time for a small minority within the bounds of Presbytery, knowing the constrained and unwilling absence of the majority, to invade the quiet and repose of a Church under its care, and on the request of only nine members of that Church, and without notice or warning to the remaining members or pastor, suddenly and violently, on any pretext, separate pastor and people, and, more than this, require the pastor to cease all connection with the Church.

Nay, I ask if such an act, under such circumstances, can have any validity? The parties interested in the action of Presbytery, the pastor and his people, had a right to the protection which the Presbytery, under free and full attendance, could give them. But a time is seized upon by the nine memorialists who sought the expulsion of Dr. McPheeters from his pulpit, in his absence, without the knowledge of the people, and when the majority that could, and as we know from their memorial would, have been their shield and protection, was prevented from attendance.

The second ground of complaint is, that the action of Presbytery, which concluded Dr. McPheeters guilty of grave fault, was had and taken without notice and without his having opportunity to be heard.

This is proved by the minutes and proceedings of Presbytery. I have already alluded to this ground of objection, and will give it but brief notice. The action of Presbytery was based on a charge against him of contumacy and defiance of the authority of his Presbytery. This is a grave charge against a minister, and against which he surely has the constitutional right to be heard. The bare statement of the proposition is enough to command the assent of every minister in this Assembly.

But I will call the attention of the General Assembly to the nature of the action and decision of Presbytery.

The action of Presbytery was induced by a memorial of nine members of Presbytery, which was read before this General Assembly, charging Dr. McPheeters with conduct "*revolutionary and contumacious;*" in other words, with revolt and *contumacy*, for the phraseology of the charge is only matter of taste. The charge is none the less a substantial charge. That Presbytery based their action on this memorial and charge is shown conclusively by these considerations: 1. It is recorded and spread on the minutes immediately preceding the orders and entries complained of, and could have been admitted there only as evidence; that it was indorsed by Presbytery to exhibit of record the facts and grounds of the decision and action of Presbytery. 2. If Presbytery had intended merely to enforce their former action, which extended only to the dissolution of the *pastoral relation*, their action would have been *limited to the pastoral relation*. But it was not thus limited. Dr. McPheeters was required "to cease the exercise of the functions, not of pastor only, but of a *minister* of his Church; and, more than this, he was required to cease all connection with his Church. Under the first action appealed from to Synod, the mere dissolution of the pastoral relation, even if there had been no appeal, the Church had the right to call on him, as occasion might require, to preach a sermon in their pulpit—had the right to retain him as a supply; but this action complained of to this General Assembly drives him from the pulpit, both as minister and pastor, and locks the doors of the Church against his attendance even as a regular worshiper. Surely the merest tyro in ecclesiastical courts who sat in Presbytery could not fail to know that to warrant and sustain such action the tabling of charges and citation and an orderly hearing were necessary, and was the right of the accused. Look at this proceeding in the light of the provisions of our Book of Discipline:

"Great caution ought to be exercised in receiving accusations from any person *who is known to indulge a malignant spirit toward the accused;* who is not of good character; who is himself under censure or process; *who is deeply interested, in any respect, in the conviction of the accused; or who is known to be litigious*, rash or highly imprudent.

"When a judicatory enters on the consideration of a crime or crimes alleged, no more shall be done at the first meeting, unless by consent of parties, than to give the accused a copy of each, charged with the names of the witnesses to support it, and to cite all concerned to appear at the next meeting of the judicatory to have the matter fully heard and decided.

"*The trial shall be fair and impartial, the witnesses shall be examined in the presence of the accused; or, at least, after he shall have received due citation to attend, and he shall be permitted to ask any questions tending to his own exculpation.*"

"Judicatories, before proceeding to trial, ought to ascertain that their citations have been duly served on the persons for whom they were intended, *and especially before they proceed to ultimate measures for contumacy.* Book Discipline, Chap. 4, Sections 4, 5, 14, 15. All these provisions have been disregarded, and the very offense singled out as one never to be proceeded against but on citation, to-wit, "*contumacy*," is the offense charged in the memorial and the items on the minutes, as the ground and basis of the action of Presbytery.

The third ground of complaint is, that Presbytery erred in deciding, as they substantially did decide, that the appeal to Synod did not suspend proceedings and leave Dr. McPheeters the right to perform ministerial functions in his Church.

I ask the careful attention of the General Assembly to this ground of complaint, for, without intending to derogate from the importance of other issues involved, this issue is vital; for if there was an appeal from Presbytery to Synod pending at the time the action complained of was had, that fact ends all question. Now, what are the facts before the General Assembly as to whether there was such an appeal. Our complaint alleges that such an appeal was made, existed, and still exists; alleges that notice and reasons were in due time and properly given, and the appeal is made part of the complaint. The written notice, with reasons, was here present, ready to be used before the General Assembly, and both parties offered to hear it read. But the reading was objected to, and it was not read. But the minutes of Synod were read. They show that the appeal and complaint was, and is duly pending before Synod; that the appeal and complaint was decided by Synod to be in order, was docketed for hearing, and continued, for specified reasons, until the fall term of Synod, 1864. And these minutes have been approved by this General Assembly at its present Session; and this being all that is before the General Assembly, is conclusive of the existence and pendency of the appeal. And, if we are confined to what is before the General Assembly, there is no room for argument; this ground must be sustained. But I do not seek to avail myself of what may be regarded by some a technicality. I will proceed to notice this ground of complaint on the facts as they would have appeared if the notice and reasons had been read.

On this point I suppose all will concede that if there was an appeal, the necessary operation of the appeal was to suspend proceedings, until it should be heard before Synod. If any doubt, I refer them to Book of Discipline, Chap. vii, 3d Sec. § 15. It is important, then, to observe with care, and see if there was an appeal. The Book of Discipline provides that "Every appellant is bound to give notice of his intention to appeal, and also to lay the reasons thereof, in writing, before the judicatory appealed from, either before its rising or within ten days thereafter. If this notice, or these reasons, be not given to the judicatory while in session, they shall be lodged with the Moderator." The notice required is the notice of the reasons of the appeal. See Assembly's Digest, case of Pew Owners of First Church in Troy, pp. 149–50. Without the reasons, there is no valid notice. This notice, and it must be in writing, may be given before the rising of the judicatory or it must be lodged with the Moderator within ten days. This writing must show for itself, and is what it purports to be, an appeal or complaint, or both, according to its purport, subject of course to a power in the higher Court to determine its character. And until that character is decided and determined it stands, and must stand, for what it purports to be. Now, in this case, Elder Greene, representing Pine Street Church in the Presbytery, when the decision was made verbally announced his purpose to complain to Synod, as appears from the minutes. The announcement, in point of fact, was, that he intended to appeal, complain or protest. This was no notice, within the meaning of the Book of Discipline, was not intended to be, for it was not in writing nor did it give reasons.

But after the rising of Presbytery, and within ten days, as required, he, as the Elder from Pine Street Church, and in the name of the majority of the Church, lodged his notice of an appeal and complaint, with reasons and grounds, with the Moderator. Whether it was an appeal or complaint, or both, must be first determined by the paper itself; and in express terms it is an "appeal and complaint" as representative of the Session of the Church, and in the name of the majority of the Church. He claims that he has a right to appeal in the circumstances of this case. If that right be disputed, the question is for the decision of Synod. Who else shall decide it? for the most important consequences would result from leaving the power any where else. His appeal was, in due time, carried to Synod, and by Synod received, and on the minutes recognized as an appeal—I may say decided to be an appeal—docketed accordingly, and is there pending for trial, and was so pending at the time of the action complained of by Presbytery. I respectfully insist that whatever may be the opinion of members of this General Assembly as to whether there was the right of appeal, that Synod having received, declared it in order as an appeal, entered and docketed it as an appeal, Dr. McPheeters and the Church were not only authorized, but bound to treat and regard it as an appeal, and to conform their action accordingly; and Presbytery being the inferior tribunal, was in like manner bound.

But I respectfully submit, Moderator, that there was the right of appeal in this case—that appeals will lie in questions in regard "to the creation and dissolution of the pastoral relation." (See Assembly Dig., page 142.) I admit that the right of appeal is continued to the parties. Who are the parties in this case? Clearly Dr. McPheeters, on the one hand, and his Church and congregation on the other. For a moment, let us recall the facts. The congregation, when cited to meet and respond to the proposed resignation of the pastor, did meet, and, by an overwhelming majority, voted and protested against the resignation; but, under mistake, apparent from the proceedings, left and went home without appointing Commissioners to Presbytery to give their reasons. The members who remained then appointed Mr. Strong—not to show cause against accepting the resignation, but, in violation of the Constitution, to urge the acceptance. The congregation, at another meeting, reaffirmed their former resolution and protest, and instructed Mr. Strong, if he could not, in good faith, truly represent the wishes of the congregation, to resign the appointment given him. He did not resign, but appeared before Presbytery and urged the case against the congregation.

Now, there is no provision making it the duty of the Commissioner to do more than to give the reasons of the congregation why the resignation ought not to be accepted; and yet I do not doubt the right of the Commissioner to take the appeal, in the name of the congregation, would be allowed and recognized. But here is a case where the Commissioner was against his congregation—had not, in fact, been selected and sent by them. Is the congregation, therefore, to be deprived of the right of appeal? It is clear they have the right of appeal: there is no provision as to who shall make it for them; their numbers prevent them from making it in person. What valid reason can be shown why an Elder of their own Church, elected by themselves, emphatically their representative, and, at the same time, one of themselves, may not, in their own name and his own, make the appeal? The fact that a Commissioner would be allowed to do so is no reason why their Elder, and, at the same time, a member of Presbytery, may not do so. If he can not, in this case there was a clear, and important, and sacred right, and no means of enforcing it. To deny this right in this case will be to permit a minority to take advantage of its own wrong by preventing an appeal. Moderator, let such a construction be given to our Constitution and standards as will protect our Churches and people in their acknowledged rights, and defeat injustice and wrong in whatever forms they may be developed.

The people having the clear right of appeal, with their case sent up for revision in the higher court, let no unfair technicality deprive them of their pastor until final decision may be against them.

The fourth ground of complaint is, that Presbytery, in part, based its action on *ex-parte* statements of George P. Strong and others, made verbally and not kept of record.

On this head I have but a single remark to make. I have had long experience in the Courts; have not been an inattentive observer. Such a practice would not, for a moment, be tolerated in Civil Courts; and I do not hesitate to say, that if this practice is allowed and tolerated in Church Courts, and men having their feelings deeply enlisted and anxious for a certain result are permitted in this way in the absence of adverse parties to make statements and speeches to our Courts, great injustice will often be done. This was certainly an irregularity—by itself, perhaps, not fatal to the action of Presbytery, but added to other things, strengthens the grounds of reversal.

The fifth ground is, that the action of Presbytery was in disregard of the voice and rights of the majority of the congregation; was injurious to Pine Street Church and to the interests of religion.

This ground of complaint is of great practical importance, and its decision will materially affect the peace and interests of all our Churches; for there is no Church, or at least but few Churches, which, in respect to the pastor, have not a majority and a minority—sometimes larger, sometimes smaller. And if the decision of this General Assembly shall be such as to encourage a minority to persevering clamor and strife until the majority shall be wearied and worried into the purchase of their peace on any terms and at any price, and thus be made to yield to the minority, then farewell to all peace as well as all prosperity in our Churches. It is one of the most admirable features of the teachings of our Church that a controlling power in such matters as belong to the congregation is in the majority, and the minorities are taught the duties of submission and conformity to the will and voice of the majority. Where there is a difference between a majority and a minority, both can not have their views; they can not keep up contention and strife without destroying the peace of the Church; nay, contention and strife will put at peril the very life of all piety in any Church so afflicted. One party or the other must yield in a Christian spirit and embrace each other in the bonds of fraternal peace, or far better for the cause and interests of religion would it be for such a Church to be disbanded and no more exhibit before the world the devil's work of contention and strife.

Now, in this case the majority is admitted, and facts before the Assembly show it to be a large majority; yet now, for not months only, but for years, has the minority denied and defied their voice and rights, and with outside help the minority has succeeded in subjecting the majority to the severest and sorest trials.

How much longer is this warfare to continue? When is peace again to visit our little flock? We have trusted that under God the General Assembly will adopt some action that will stay a strife that has long brought reproach on the cause of religion.

It is also said in this ground of complaint that the action of Presbytery is injurious to Pine Street Church and the interests of religion. For the truth of this I refer the General Assembly to the facts stated in the complaint.

I have already remarked on the sixth ground of complaint.

The seventh ground of complaint is that the *pro-re-nata* meetings were irregularly called. There had been no "emergency" or "important occurrences" unknown at their last meeting. [See 10th chap. 10th sec. Form Gov. Assembly's Dig., p. 231.] The regular spring session of Presbytery had a few weeks only before adjourned, and the true condition of Pine Street Church was then fully known to its members. There had been occurrences outside of the Church. The department commander was about to be changed, and Marmaduke, commanding a brigade of rebels, had invaded the State, an unusual state of alarm and excitement prevailed, martial law was being rigorously enforced, and the time was now favorable for the result sought to be accomplished. The minority saw that this time was "flood tide," that "led on to fortune." The state of things was such, and the outside pressure upon Dr. McPheeters and his friends such, that he was compelled, as the only means for himself and friends to escape trying persecutors, as he and they believed, to place his resignation in the hands of Presbytery. And hence arose occasion for an apparent issue between himself and his congregation.

But all occasion for such an issue has now passed away. We had for a year been laboring under a mistake in supposing that he had been debarred from his pulpit, with the sanction and by authority of President Lincoln, when in fact, from the very first, Mr. Lincoln had decided that the act of the local military authorities had been in error and without authority of law, and ordered General Curtis to restore him to all his rights as a minister, an order that had not been obeyed for more than a whole year. And it was while he was thus excluded from his pulpit, from his Church courts, and not permitted to appear in his own defense and vindication, bound hand and foot, defenseless and helpless, that the minority of the Church, with an ardor and zeal worthy of a better cause, were urging *ex parte* proceedings against him, seeking to vacate his pulpit. And during the whole progress of these proceedings, here before this General Assembly is the first time that he has been afforded an opportunity to appear and be heard in his own defense and vindication. I need not ask here for a particular hearing for him. He is worthy of such a hearing. He has learning, talent, piety and efficiency that entitle him to a place in the front ranks of our ministry. He is distinguished by those amiable and lovely traits of character, by that simple, trusting, affectionate faith, combined with a love of truth and a firmness to maintain it, so well calculated to secure the confidence and love of his people as well as the respect and admiration of the world.

So his congregation believes of him, so they esteem him, and it will be to them a bitter, bitter grief to have him torn from them. Moderator, in the name of his people, I enter their solemn protest against any such result, on this our appeal to the justice of the highest courts of our Church.

CHAPTER XIV.

DR. M'PHEETERS SPEECH BEFORE THE ASSEMBLY IN NEWARK.

During the meeting of the Assembly Dr. McPheeters was allowed to speak for himself. He addressed the tribunal as follows:

MODERATOR: It is with no ordinary feeling that I appear before this venerable Court, and find what I have so long sought, and sought in vain—an opportunity of saying something in my own defense. For, strange as it ought to appear in the history of an American and a Presbyterian, I stand before you a citizen who has been banished; a minister who has been suspended from his ministry; a pastor who has been driven from his flock, and a preacher who has been forbidden to preach; and yet up to this day, neither as citizen, minister nor pastor, have I had an opportunity of uttering one word in vindication of myself before any Court, military or ecclesiastical; and not only so, but as if nothing should be wanting to make my case anomalous, under the forms of martial law I have been judged and condemned for supposed offenses which, if offenses, were purely ecclesiastical; and under the forms of ecclesiastical law I have been judged and condemned for offenses which were purely civil. And as this is the first and may be the last opportunity I shall have of saying anything in my defense, I ask the fathers and brethren here met in the name of the Lord Jesus to give me a patient and impartial hearing: and pardon me when I remind the members of the Court that there are matters connected with my case well calculated to prejudice them against me; many things have appeared in the papers well calculated to bias your judgments. And I think I have a right, though it bears only indirectly upon the issues of this case, to make some statements in relation to myself and the military authorities then governing Missouri. I am not here, however, to bring charges against these officers of the Government, and I would omit the whole matter if it did not in my judgment have a direct bearing on the action of my Presbytery, and, unexplained, would, consciously or unconsciously, have a controlling influence on the result you will reach. Allow me, then, in the briefest way I can, to give you some facts in the history of the difficulties of Pine Street Church, which, in their development and progress, have become matters of the deepest interest to the Churches in Missouri and involve questions of the gravest importance to the whole Church of God. In the summer of 1860, by the advice of my physicians and with the consent of my Church, I left St. Louis to spend a year in New Mexico for my health. It was while I was in that Territory that our present fearful civil war began. Every one who knows anything of the history of Missouri knows that at first it was doubtful on which side that State would take her stand. Now, sir, it so happened in the Providence of God that in May, 1861, I addressed to my Church a pastoral letter, calling their attention to some of the duties of Christians in view of our civil strife. In that letter, which I now hold in my hand, I stated distinctly the course which, as a matter of principle and conscience, I intended to pursue upon my return to my pastoral charge. And the precise line of conduct marked out for myself in that letter, written in that remote place—written when I was wholly ignorant of the political views of my charge—written when the status of Missouri was uncertain—written when men felt free to utter their innermost thoughts, is just the line of conduct which, my enemies being judges, I have steadily pursued. I thank God that in His Providence I was led to write that pastoral letter, for, while I know it is no evidence that the positions then taken are wise or right, it is evidence that they were positions taken from a sense of duty, and it gives me the means of refuting the cruel slander and wicked insinuation that my ministerial conduct has been determined not by conviction of duty, but by hostility to the Government under which I live.

I will read an extract to show my position at that time. The letter is dated Fort Union, New Mexico, May 14, 1861: "As from time to time intelligence has reached this place from the States, my heart has been filled with sadness and gloom beyond the power of words to express. For a time I did hope that a merciful and long suffering God would in His Providence interpose and shield the country from civil war and its necessary horrors; the latest news, however, leaves no doubt on my mind that the Divine arm is bare to smite our land with His terrible but righteous judgments. I feel sure that before this commnnication reaches you a civil war will be begun, the end and result of which no human foresight can predict.

"In these circumstances, I feel an irresistible inclination to address you a pastoral letter upon some points which it seems important to bring distinctly before your mind at such a time as this. With the purely civil and political questions which now shake the country to its centre I do not feel called upon, either as your pastor or as a minister of Christ, to speak. I am rejoiced that my duty, as well as my inclination, leads me into a higher, purer, and better sphere than this. No, dear brethren, I wish to address you, not as a friend or advocate of any party or section, but as an ambassador of One "whose kingdom is not of this world." So far from wishing to swell with my voice the din of words uttered by any section or party, I wish to say something about your duties to Christ and his kingdom—something about the obligations and dangers which belong to you as Christians, living in the circumstances which surround you."

Soon after writing this letter I returned to Missouri. Removed, as I had been, from the intense political excitement which prepared the way for and culminated in civil war, I can never forget the impression made upon me as soon as I reached the western extremity of Missouri, and entered, as it were, the outer circle of the mighty whirlwind of passion and excitement which seemed to agitate and control the entire population. I was filled with amazement and sorrow, and, to tell the simple truth, there was *the profoundest recoil of my soul from nearly every thing I saw or heard.* And long before I reached home I had formed a fixed resolution on two points: one was, as a citizen to do all duties plainly enjoined upon me by the Word of God; and the other was, both as a citizen and minister, to stand aloof, as far as possible, from the whole civil contest. How far this last resolution was wise or even possible I am not arguing, I state it simply as a fact—a fact that will help to explain much of my conduct and more of my troubles.

Upon reaching home I was cheered by the condition of my Church. It was in a state of peace and apparent harmony, and still more was I pleased when, frankly stating to the members of the Church the course I had marked out for myself, every one, without exception, said it met their cordial approval.

The following spring, against my desire, I was sent as a Commissioner to the General Assembly that met in Columbus, Ohio. It will be remembered by all that Dr. Breckinridge's paper on the state of the country was introduced at that time and was passed by the Assembly. Some of you may also recollect that I was one of a small minority who opposed it on the floor and protested against it when it passed. The debate on the paper was published in the secular journals, and my remarks were made the ground of a characteristic assault by one or two of the most violent party papers in St. Louis, and, for some time after, the assault was kept up in short anonymous pieces, strangely malignant and wrecklessly false. In the meantime the political excitement in Missouri was increasing. The two parties, since known as the radicals and conservatives, were struggling into birth, and even then giving premonitions of the agitation soon to follow. The community was divided, restless, excited; and, simultaneously with this struggle in the State, there began to be signs of a corresponding agitation in the Churches.

I learned afterward that the Provost-Marshal-General at the time acting took so much offense at what I did in that Assembly that he at one time was determined to arrest me on my return to the city.

About the same time a question arose between me and a minority in my Church upon this point. They wished me to give them for publication a statement of my views and personal position on the questions agitating and dividing the country; and this they demanded of me as their pastor.

I denied the right they had to ask me as their pastor such questions, and I declined answering.

Into this matter I do not intend to go, as it does not properly come into the question at issue before the General Assembly; it would open a wide field in bringing in some grave personal questions which, in my judgment, should not be here discussed and which I will not introduce.

This question between myself and a small minority of my Church was a question they had a perfect right to carry before my Presbytery; and if they had done so that court might have given a deliverance that would have settled the whole thing, either by my resigning my pastoral charge or by these brethren being brought to change their mind. At that time it would have been an easy matter to have dissolved the pastoral relation; in fact, nothing but a most earnest remonstrance signed by six out of seven Elders and by four-fifths of the Church prevented me from tendering my resignation.

Most unfortunately this question, which I regarded as only a question of a pastor's rights and duties, instead of being taken up and issued by a Church Court, *by some means* got before a very different court; and as this and what grew out of it has made an impression calculated to prejudice my case, and as the action of Presbytery was influenced, if not determined, by this event, I must be permitted to explain this matter of my arrest, and show what course I felt constrained to pursue in connection with it.

On the day of its date I received the order of banishment.

The reception of this order from an official was the first thing I heard of it; there had been no examination of me, no trial. Now, it is proper to state that there had been a change in the office of Provost-Marshal-General in November. For a few months before November one of the ablest lawyers of Missouri held that position. It was while he was in office that I first heard rumors that the affairs of Pine Street Church and its pastor were subjects of discussion among some of the members of the Church as things that the military might take in hand. Hints were time and again thrown out that the minority might, if so disposed, have possession of Pine Street Church by military authority. I therefore waited upon both the District Provost-Marshal and the Provost-Marshal-General and requested, if charges were made against me or the Church of which I was pastor, that I might have an opportunity of making explanation and defense before any action should be taken. The reply of the Provost-Marshal-General would have entirely removed any apprehension, if I had entertained any. He said, at once, that he had nothing to do with churches or ministers, as such. He only dealt with citizens. If anything disloyal was done by any citizen, no matter where it was done, he would hold him responsible. But he would not entertain a charge against a Church and would take no part in their disputes. He told me further that he knew of no charge against me in the office, and that if I was accused he would hear my defense. This was entirely satisfactory to me.

How much I wish this course had been pursued. I believe it would have saved a world of trouble to myself and Pine Street Church, for, if called upon, I was prepared to make answer about any part of my conduct as a citizen. I would have shown the authorities that my allegiance to the United States and the State of Missouri I not only acknowledged, but in the form and manner prescribed by law had voluntarily certified, under the solemnity of an oath, that what pledges the State asked I had given. I would have shown that, as a matter of conscience and as a matter of fact, I obeyed all laws and was subject to all civil and military authorities. I would have admitted, as is obviously true, that a citizen, while acknowledging his allegiance and keeping clearly within the language of his oath—while violating no law upon the statute book and rendering formal obedience to the constituted authorities, might in times like these pursue a course of conduct the design, purpose, or evident effect of which so obviously tended to breed discontent, to ferment discord, or to obstruct the legitimate action of Government as to make him not only a bad citizen, but even an intolerable member of an agitated community; and, admitting this, I would have asked where was the man who would dare charge me with a word written or spoken, or an act in public or in private, justly chargeable with such an offense? Now, sir, I ask you to look at this order. Does it not lie upon the very surface that my resisting the right of a few members of my Church to drag me, as a pastor, before the public, on my personal and private views of civil and political matters, is the ground of the action against me? It is not Samuel B. McPheeters, a citizen of Missouri, who has done thus and so. I rejoice that those who accused me found "none occasion" against me "concerning the kingdom," and they would have had none except they found it against me concerning what I considered the law of my God. This order, as far as I can see, does not contemplate the citizen; it is "the Rev. Samuel B. McPheeters, Pastor of Pine Street Church." "Well, sir, what has the Pastor of Pine Street Church done?" "He refused, when urged by certain loyal members of his congregation, to avow his sentiments openly, and to take a stand in favor of the Government." Then follows his course in the General Assembly of his Church. "He has used all the influence of his ministerial character to prevent the body of the Church with which he is connected from manifesting or declaring its loyalty to the Government."

There are many in this house to-day who were members of that Assembly; they will remember that what I then said was on the constitutional right of a Church Court to pass such a resolution, and on the inexpediency of the thing. Some of the best men in the Church took the same view. But I no more dreamed that an argument upon the expediency or constitutionality of the General Assembly adopting a paper submitted to them—an argument which even those who failed to see its force could not fail to see was guarded, temperate, and absolutely free from all allusion to political questions—sir, I no more dreamed that such an argument would have been considered an offense against the peace of Missouri and an evidence of disloyalty than I dreamed that my declaring myself a subject of King Jesus could be considered an act of high treason against the State.

And, further still: "He has refused to observe, in their obvious meaning and intent, the recommendations of the President of the United States to the various Churches." The only recommendation I remember made at that time was the day of fasting and prayer, and I did observe that, and with all my soul I called upon the people of my charge to humble themselves before God and repent, if so be that God would look upon us that we perish not.

Nor is this all, nor is it the worst. The Pastor of Pine Street Church has not been the only offender. The Session and the congregation have sinned in sustaining him, and they are punished by having the control of the building and the records taken out of their hands and put into the hands of a military commission. The church is taken, not for a hospital, not for barracks, not for any military use, but as a Church, and to be conducted as a Church; and it so happens that this commission is the very committee appointed by the minority of Pine Street Church to conduct the correspondence, and they are by order to select the minister whose preaching this Church shall hear, and his one qualification is specified, and that not piety or orthodoxy, but "loyalty."

Sir, it is no part of my purpose before this body to arraign the officers of the Government for what they did in this matter. I wish to be fair to them. While I have complained of their bringing military authority to bear upon Church matters, I always remember the circumstances under which they acted. The State was agitated, and had been recently convulsed by armed resistance to the national authority. Absolute power was committed to their hands to see that the State suffered no damage. Neither my ministry, nor my pastorate, nor my pulpit gave me any exemption if I disturbed the State. They had a right to drag me from the altar of God if I made that altar a place to carry out plans of sedition. They ought in justice, however, to have heard my defense, and they should have refrained from laying any hands on the rights of Christ's Church.

The day after this order was issued the Session met, and under solemn protest declared they were ready to hand the Church edifice, records and books over to the military commission, and declared their authority superseded while the order should last.

For myself, feeling not only that the liberty of the Church of God was invaded, but that the honor of the Government was involved, I determined at once to lay the whole matter before the authorities at Washington. I prepared a formal paper addressed to the Attorney-General, and asked, whatever was done with me, that the wrongs done to the Church of Christ might not be allowed. Upon further consideration I determined not to send the papers, but, accompanied by an elder of the Church, to carry them in person to Washington. I immediately waited upon the Attorney-General, and, showing him the order, was told by him that the case did not come in his department. I asked him to assist me in getting audience with the President, which he kindly promised to do on the next day; and being anxious to have what I said in writing, and not having time or strength that night to change the form of my papers, I read to Mr. Lincoln the paper which I had prepared at home for the Attorney-General, but which I had not shown him, and about which I had no conversation with the Attorney-General further than I have just related. I will read the paper to show what view I took of this order and what objection I made to it. I wish to show you that in all this matter I have been contending for the kingly rights of Christ in His Church:

ST. LOUIS, MO., *December* 23, 1862.

Hon. Edward Bates, Attorney-General of the United States:

DEAR SIR: Knowing how much your time is occupied in the discharge of the duties of your office, it is with extreme reluctance that I ask your consideration of the case which I have to submit. And if it were an individual or private matter, or one of small moment, I would not trouble you; but it is one so important in the principle involved, and may be so far-reaching in its consequences, that I feel compelled to call your official attention to it.

Inclosed I send you an order of Major-General Curtis, and the documents and papers connected with and resulting in this order.

From these papers it will be seen that a question of a purely ecclesiastical nature has been raised between some of the members of my Church and myself as to the rights involved in the relation of a pastor to his people, to-wit: Whether the members of a Presbyterian Church have a right to demand of their pastor that he should define, in writing, his views and position on civil and political questions. For the reasons set forth at large in the accompanying documents I denied and resisted this claim of right. My whole action in this matter has been the result of religious convictions and my life-long views of the nature and duty of the Gospel ministry. The members of my Church who made this demand at first tried to coerce obedience by ecclesiastical means. They tried to get a majority of the Church to ask for a dissolution of the pastoral relation. In this they utterly failed. Four-fifths of the Church and all of the Church Session, numbering seven, except one, without distinction of party or opinion, adhered to me. Intimations had been thrown out in conversation that, if in no other way, the military authorities would be appealed to to enforce their views. I have no positive evidence as to the persons who brought the matter before the military authorities, but the order of General Curtis, on its face, shows that it rests upon this controversy in my Church.

It is proper for me further to state that no notice was given me, nor was I examined or in any way questioned as to the truth or falsehood of the charges made. Now, the points to which I desire to call your official attention are these:

1. That the military authorities have assumed to decide an ecclesiastical question between me and some of the members of my charge, and that they have construed my denial of the right which they claim to demand of me as their pastor—an answer to civil and political questions—*as an act of disloyalty to the Government.*

2. That in this order the military authorities have made my action in the Church court upon questions purely ecclesiastical a matter not only of military review, but of military punishment. The language of the order is:

"And, whereas, the said McPheeters, acting with others of the same denomination, has used all the influence of his ministerial character to prevent the body of the Church with which he is connected from declaring or manifesting its loyalty to the Government."

This can only refer to my course in the last General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church; for these questions have not come up in any other Church courts with which I am connected. I did, however, in the General Assembly of May last, oppose certain resolutions introduced into that body which I regarded as an indirect violation of the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church, which says: "Synods or councils are to handle or conclude nothing but what is ecclesiastical, and are not to intermeddle with civil affairs which concern the Commonwealth, unless by way of humble petition in cases extraordinary, or by way of advice for satisfaction of conscience, if they be thereunto required by the civil magistrate." [Confession of Faith, Chapter XXXI, Sec. 4.] I said nothing as to the merits of the civil question upon which the decision of the Assembly was asked. I only maintained that it had no right to "handle or conclude" such matters. This was certainly no offense for which I should be subjected to military punishment, and, I humbly submit, a subject upon which it was not proper for them to decide.

Third. It will moreover be seen that the military authorities are dealing with me not *as a citizen*, but distinctly and formally as a minister of the Gospel. They commanded me to "cease from this date the functions of" my "office in the State of Missouri." Now, my office as a minister of the Gospel I do not receive from the State, but from the Church of Christ, and its functions can only be suspended by those from whom I received my office; and it seems to me that the military authorities should not sit in judgment upon that office—that they should only know me as a citizen, and only deal with me as such.

Fourth. It will be further seen in the order that the military authorities take command not only of the church edifice, but of the books and papers—*i. e.*, the Church records, and order them to be given into the hands of three individuals, who, while they are members of the Church, and one of them an Elder, are not the persons to whom the Church has or would commit them, if permitted to declare her will; and, further still, it will be seen from this order, that these same three individuals are appointed by the military to fill the pulpit and determine what kind of religious instruction the Church shall have. All this is not only done, but it is published to the world in an order which will be read through the country.

I have felt it to be my duty, not only as a minister of the Gospel, but as a good citizen, to call the distinct attention of the Government to this matter, and ask, if this order is not in accordance with the Constitution, laws, and usages of the United States, that such steps may be taken as shall be necessary to correct it. In the meantime, I design to render implicit obedience to all these orders; for while I can not admit that my ministerial office, or the government and worship of the Church, is under the direction of the civil or military authorities, yet I feel it my duty to set an example of obedience, and to wait the correction which I feel convinced will be made by those having the ultimate decision of the matter. And it is, in my esteem, a happy circumstance that I find in the legal adviser of the Government one who, at the same time, is so well acquainted with the history and Constitution of the Church in which I am a minister.

I have said nothing of what I consider the cruel personal wrong which is done to me by this order. It can be considered as nothing less than an official endorsement of a letter which appears in the *Missouri Democrat*, (newspaper) December 13, 1862, signed by the three individuals to whom Gen. Curtis hands over the Church to which I minister, which letter I regard as a most shameless and false assault upon my character, so that if this order is permitted to remain, the whole influence of the Government, to which I have a right to look for protection, sends me out branded with crimes which I contemplate with horror and which I indignantly deny that I have committed.

The only offense, if offense it be, which malice itself can charge against me is, that, being a minister of the Gospel, I have aimed to stand aloof, not only in public, but in private, from the exciting discussions of these unhappy times, and to devote all my energies to the distinctive duties of my calling. But while this has been the course which I have thought proper and becoming me, as a man set apart by the Church of God, to deal with men about their highest interests, I have, at the same time, not forgotten my duty as a citizen. In a formal paper read before the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, and which is upon its records, and was published through the country, I declared "that true allegiance and lawful subjection and obedience to the civil government, as an ordinance of God, are among the highest duties of religion;" and more recently still, in the public prints and over my own signature, I declared that, "as a citizen, I hold it to be a most important and indispensable part of my duty to God to obey law, to submit to the authorites, to pray for them, to render them the honors due their several stations, and to promote peace and quietness;" and what is more, I have not only taught this in words, but by *my example* I have declared the same thing, by the quiet but unhesitating manner in which I have gone forward in the discharge of every civil duty enjoined upon me, either by the Word of God or by the laws of the land, and especially by voluntarily taking the following oath, enjoined by the State Convention of Missouri, June 10th, 1862, upon those who solemnize the right of matrimony. [Here the oath was inserted.]

But while I feel that it is hard for a course like this that I should be driven as a criminal from my home into a climate unfriendly to my impaired health, and among strangers who are, by an official paper, warned to suspect me, I say, while I feel all this to be a great wrong, *I do not come to make any personal plea.* If the good of the State requires that a quiet and peaceful family should be banished, that an innocent man should be treated as a criminal, let it be done. The man is not worthy the name of a man who is not willing to suffer even, wrongfully, for the public good. I come to ask that the Church may be left to her liberty; that the military authorities be not permitted to judge and decide between me and the members of my Church upon purely ecclesiastical questions; that they be not permitted to assume authority over the government and worship of the Presbyterian Church.

Let this be done and I am prepared to show, by patient endurance, the kind and degree of obedience which, as a Christian citizen, I am ready to render to the "powers that be."

As for the rest, I shall calmly but confidently leave my character and my innocency to be vindicated by that Divine Providence before whom even a sparrow does not fall unobserved and who can make all things work together for his people's good.

What is proper to be done in this matter is not for me to decide, but I most earnestly and respectfully request that the subject may receive such attention as is proper.

The only personal request I make is, that if the sentence of banishment is carried out, that I may have sufficient time allowed me to make reasonable preparation for my departure, and that I may be permitted to choose what locality I prefer in "the loyal States," or to go to a foreign country, if I shall so elect.

Very respectfully,
SAMUEL B. McPHEETERS.

Now, sir, the result of this, though I did not know it for twelve months after, was that the President sustained me in every one of my positions. He left me as a citizen, like all other citizens, to be dealt with according to my conduct. He directed the military not to interfere with the Churches. This was done in a letter dated January 2, 1863, which letter has been published extensively by the press.

Before I left the President he sent a dispatch, which, after writing, he read to me, and it was, I believe, in these precise words:

"Suspend the order against Dr. McPheeters until further orders."

The immediate effect of the President's telegram was the issuing of the following order:

"OFFICE OF THE PROVOST-MARSHAL-GENERAL,
DEPARTMENT OF THE MISSOURI,
ST. LOUIS, December 28, 1862.

"*Rev. S. B. McPheeters and Wife:*

"The order made against you on the 19th of December is modified until further orders, to this extent: that you are not required to leave the State.

"By order of MAJOR-GENERAL CURTIS.

"F. A. DICK,"
"Lieut.-Col., Provost-Marshal-General."

This was the interpretation given the President's telegram; the suspension was understood as applying only to my banishment, not to the part of the order relating to my ministry, though this was the very point I had presented, and was to me far the more important objection to the order. That I so regarded it is perfectly manifest from the paper submitted to the President; and yet you will observe this is the thing carefully retained.

The order of December 28 suspended my banishment, but left me forbidden to exercise the functions of my ministry, and left the Church in the hands of the military commission. There can be and is no doubt that the sentence suspending my ministerial office lasted for a year; for not only did the Commanding General, upon being asked, give this interpretation to his order, but I have the official documents to prove it. It is a fact, and one bearing directly on what my Presbytery did, that for a year, without any authority from the head of the Government, I was virtually deposed from the gospel ministry. During that time I was in the full enjoyment of all my civil rights. I might vote at elections; buy or sell; practice medicine or law, if I had been qualified; but it would have been a military offense for me to have administered the Lord's Supper, imposed hands in ordination, preached a sermon, or taken a seat in an ecclesiastical court in the State of Missouri. This is surely marvelous, even in these times. What does it mean? What interpretation did I, naturally, put upon it? Why, sir, it was quite impossible for me not to see that the military authorities did not deal with me as with a citizen whom they regarded as dangerous or injurious to the State. Suspected citizens were put under heavy bonds to do no disloyal thing; no bonds were ever asked of me. I went where I pleased; did what I pleased; said what I pleased, just as any other citizen not a minister. Suppose it had been seriously believed, as charged in the original order, that I was "exerting an injurious influence, especially upon the youth and other members of my congregation, leading them to adopt sentiments of hostility to the Government and become open rebels," how strange, by stopping my ordinary avocations, that they should throw my whole time idly upon my hands for this work; by calling attention to me that they should give me a larger field of operation; by punishing me, give me, in a tenfold degree, the influence of sympathy to work upon and the motive of revenge to stir me up to work. This was strange confidence to be placed in me, if I had been regarded as a dangerous citizen.

But, on the supposition that I was regarded as a refractory minister, who would not, in his pulpit and official character, take the stand in support of the civil government which it was thought I should, the measures adopted were wise and reasonable. I was deposed from the ministry. The truth is, as a citizen I had not offended, and as a citizen I was not punished. As a minister, I had offended, not by what I did, but by what I did not do, and I was silenced. The military laid hold of me because they did not understand some matters of duty as I did. I differed from them not about rendering to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, but about what things are Cæsar's, and what are God's; and, more than this, I judged what things were Cæsar's, not by what Cæsar claimed, but by what God said Cæsar had a right to claim. Cæsar gets his rights to my obedience from God. And the same God who made a Cæsar his "minister for good," in a kingdom of this world, made me a minister for salvation in a kingdom not of this world. If Cæsar, as God's minister, has rights which I must not deny or fail to render, so I have rights which he must not invade. If I invade Cæsar's rights, God gives him the sword and he may smite; if Cæsar invades my rights, God promises me support and bids me be patient.

The order, as it affected Pine Street Church, remained in force from December 19, 1862, to March 4, 1863. During that time, the Church was not under the control of the Session, but was managed and governed by the military commission.

When this night-mare was removed from the Church, the only part of the original order remaining was that which prevented me "exercising the functions of my ministry in Missouri." In March a friend, on his own motion, visited the Commanding General and tried to get that order set aside. I shall ask the liberty of reading a letter which I wrote to this friend, which will show the views I entertained in regard to that part of the order, and explain a subsequent part of my conduct, which I am about to narrate, and which has been much blamed and misrepresented:

St. Louis, March 13th, 1863.

My Dear Friend: I thank you very sincerely for what you have done in trying to induce Gen. Curtis to remove the only part of the military order of December 19 that affects me; and I especially thank you as it was done without any solicitation or even knowledge of what you were doing. I have thought over what you suggested to me last night, of going to see Gen. Curtis myself, but I can not see my way clear to do so. I certainly have no disposition to shrink from any investigation into my conduct as a citizen. When it was first whispered that the military intended to take some action in regard to myself and Pine Street Church, I went to both Provost-Marshals Leighton and Gantt and made a special request that I might be examined before any action was taken. But a moment's consideration will show you why I can not of my own accord pursue that course now. What is the state of the case as it now stands? The original order contained two things, and but two, affecting me. One was my banishment, the other prohibiting me from *exercising the functions of my ministry in this State.* By the order of December 28 the order concerning my banishment was suspended. The only thing against me now is, that my office as a minister of the Gospel is taken away by the military authorities. As far as I know, I may do anything that any other citizen may lawfully do. I may buy and sell, vote, lecture on science, or teach school, but I can not preach, administer the sacraments of the Church, or sit in an Ecclesiastical Court. I have all my rights as a citizen, but am deposed as a minister. I do not believe, I never have believed, that Gen. Curtis ever meant to do this. If I had known that you intended to see him I would have urged you to bring this point distinctly before his mind. It seems to me plain that no offense that I could commit would justify either the civil or military authorities in suspending the functions of my ministry, because my office of a minister comes from the Church and not from the State. For crime I might be executed or banished or fined, but not deposed by the State or any of its officers, and the State has no more right to depose me than the Church has to banish or hang me. You will understand from this why I can not volunteer to go before the military authorities to make any statements or to undergo any examination with a view to being restored to my ministry. Would it not be plainly to admit that the military have a right to examine me as to my fitness to preach and administer the sacraments of the Church? I do not believe the General would wish me to do this. I do not wish to say anything that would be misunderstood, and I have been misunderstood by the authorities from the beginning on this whole subject. I have aimed to keep to my appropriate work as a minister, and leave the State to manage its own affairs in its own way. I have often said to you, and I still say, that I have no idea that Gen. Curtis has ever intended to do me a wrong; there is no conceivable motive why he should. My misfortune has been to have had those who, without cause and without conscience, have misrepresented me. I am certainly very anxious to be restored to my Church and my duties; but I can not even for so desirable an object do what I believe would be wrong; and, therefore, I can not do anything which would seem to admit that any civil or military officer whatever has a right to judge of or decide upon my fitness to do the work of a minister. From what you said I do not know whether or not you will see Gen. Curtis again. If you do, and he asks why I do not adopt the course which you suggested last night, you may gather from what I have said what answer I would like you to give. When the sentence of banishment was removed, it seems to me that everything was removed that the military should ever have passed. I was very glad for not being banished, for while I knew I did not deserve it, it was what they were empowered to do. My not being hindered from preaching and administering Christian ordinances is, I think, my right, but whether you will get a soldier to see with a theologian's eyes is a different matter. At any rate I thank you for what you endeavored to do.

Your friend, S. B. McPHEETERS.

Well, sir, this letter was never seen by the General. I do not think that any one ever explained to him the view that I took of this order, though I never failed to declare that I considered it as an encroachment upon the rights of Christ as sole King in His Church, which I could never acknowledge. And I felt especially bound not to abandon that principle, because, while the authority used was the General's, I well knew who were the real parties inducing him to exercise his authority in that particular way, and yet, in the nature of the case, I was obliged to deal with the whole matter as it appeared on the face of the order.

Soon after, another effort was made to get that sentence removed. Some six or seven gentlemen of high standing waited upon the Commanding General and asked him to remove the sentence. He received them kindly and heard them patiently. He said, among other things, that he had not seen the order until it was published; that he did not know, until informed, that I had taken the oath of allegiance. He promised them to take the matter into consideration. The impression made upon the gentlemen who waited on the General was, that their mission would be successful. Several days intervened, and during this time the matter was no little talked of in the congregation. I know not whom the General consulted, or who consulted with him while he had the matter under advisement, but I received, on the 29th of March, the following letter:

LETTER FROM GENERAL CURTIS.

"HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE MISSOURI,
ST. LOUIS, March 28th, 1863.

"*Rev. S. B. McPheeters, St. Louis:*

"Restraint having been imposed on your exercise of public functions, because of supposed disloyalty, some of your friends have traversed the fact of your being disloyal, and desire my personal intervention. With a view of ascertaining your sentiments, I submit to you the following interrogatories for your answer:

"1st. Do you wish the rebellion crushed, and are you in favor of the restoration of the national authority over all our territory?

2d. In the conflict of war now existing do you desire the success of the federal and the defeat of the rebel forces?

"I have the honor to be, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
"S. R. CURTIS, Major-General."

If this was the General's ultimatum, then it was plain to me that while it might involve me in new dangers, it certainly would bring me no relief. For what answer I must return if I meant to be true to my principles was to me perfectly plain. I had to look at this letter in the light of the facts which had preceded it, and from which it could not be separated; and well I knew that if I did not look at these facts that they would look at me—even then they were staring me in the face. They were all not only public, but of record. What were they? Just these: members of my Church had come to me with a demand for my answer, as their pastor, to certain questions on the troubles of the country. My reply had been, you have no right to demand of me an answer to such questions, and I will not answer them. The military took the matter up, recited the facts of the case and pronounced against me a sentence of banishment, and silenced me for what I had refused to do. The banishment had been removed, but the prohibiting me from exercising the functions of my ministry had been continued. And the very General under whose authority all this had been done, when asked to remove the sentence, says to me, in effect, Answer the questions you were asked, and you may preach. The whole thing, from beginning to end, was about preaching in Pine Street Church, and the conditions first made by members of the Church, and now insisted upon by the General, is answering these questions. How could I yield the point and retain my self-respect?

Why, sir, it was plain that the members of Pine Street Church had a far better right to question their pastor about his duties as pastor than the Commander of the Department of the Missouri. I could not even seem to admit that he had any rightful authority over the functions of my ministry. I had complained of that very matter to the President; from what was done, I thought he had decided against me. If a General might require an answer to these questions, as a condition of my preaching, he might, on the same principle, ask me any other. If I had done or said any thing any where, in public or in private, not lawful for a citizen to do or say, then punish me. But my duties as a minister, or what, as a pastor, I ought or ought not to do, I could not admit that the General of the Department, nor any nor all the officers of the Government, had any right to determine. My way seemed hedged up to one course, and not knowing what the result would be, but committing my cause to that King for whose rights I was contending, in a manner designed to prevent misapprehension, and to show all obedience in things civil, I respectfully declined to answer his questions, and gave him my reasons for so doing. My answer failed to convince him that I was right; he did not remove the sentence; my refusal was not considered a new offense; he added no punishment; I was left as I had been before, a citizen free—an ambassador for Christ in bonds.

The Presbytery of St. Louis met in April. I was not there; the order prohibited my going. I need hardly say that it did not bind my conscience as in the sight of God, and some one may charge that I was inconsistent; that according to my principles I ought to have gone and ventured the consequences. I thought of all this, and tried to think of it as a Christian man, and I came to the conclusion that it was not my duty to go. From the beginning I have made no issues, but sought to avoid them. I had only tried to meet those that were forced upon me. My position had been one purely defensive. So far from feeling called upon to dare or brave authority, I wished to make it appear distinctly that I was determined to yield to the utmost limits of a good conscience; and I mention this to let you see that I have not attempted to play the hero or the martyr, but only to try, amid many weaknesses and infirmities, to keep in what seemed to me the path of duty.

About this time I had great hopes that relief would come to the whole matter, as far as military law was concerned; for it had now become evident that there was to be a change in the command of the Department, and I entertained strong hopes that a General might come who would not think the functions of a gospel minister in the limits of military control; whether any feared what I hoped I do not know. At any rate the affairs of Pine Street Church and its pastor very suddenly took a new turn. They were brought before the Presbytery of St. Louis, at a special meeting called for the expressed purpose of "dissolving the pastoral relation."

The history of this case, as it stands connected with the Church Courts, is as distinctly presented in a memorial which has been sent up, signed by a majority of the Ministers and Sessions of St. Louis Presbytery, that I shall have but little to say about it. On one point, however, I wish to say a word in explanation of my own acts in relation to that Presbytery. I wish to explain to the Assembly, briefly, why I felt constrained to put into the hands of that Presbytery my resignation as pastor of Pine Street Church. I was fully determined not to do so twenty-four hours before the Presbytery met. Let me recount, in the briefest possible way, the circumstances under which this *pro-re-nata* meeting was called, and what it was that determined me to do what I did. The Spring Session of Presbytery adjourned April 10; this meeting was called May 4. Presbytery at that meeting knew everything in relation to Pine Street Church; its matters had been up before them upon a memorial sent by the Session to Presbytery. No new developments had been made when the three Ministers and four Elders called the meeting; and never was a meeting called at a time so manifestly improper to hear a case. Just before this call was issued a very unexpected raid had been made into Southeastern Missouri by a portion of the Southern army. The most exaggerated reports of the number and designs of the invading forces were circulated and believed. St. Louis, it was said, was to be attacked and captured. The city was in a state of commotion. The military were for a time moving day and night, and many of the citizens exhibited signs of panic. Martial law, as a matter of course, was administered with more than usual rigor. Arrests were numerous. The city was full of rumors of banishments to follow. The papers, of a certain class, were demanding that all suspected persons should be driven out. Now, sir, it was just in the wake of this time of agitation that this meeting was called to convene in ten days, in the city of St. Louis, to consider matters concerning a brother minister already under a suspended sentence of banisment and an actual sentence of suspension from the ministry! And the matter to be considered is, shall this minister, whom the military authorities say may not preach, retain his pastoral relation? I appeal to every impartial, right-thinking man in this Assembly—to every Presbyterian who glories in the noble Constitution of his Church, which secures a fair hearing to the vilest reprobate—if anything short of an absolute necessity would excuse those who called that meeting at that time.

Was that time of excitement a time favorable for hearing impartially a case entangled by military orders, as was the case of the pastor of Pine Street Church? No one of us then knew that the President had cut the order which had tied together the keys of the Church to the sword of the State. But was it kind, was it Christian, to ask brethren to go up and take the keys and open what those who held the sword said should be shut? I will not disguise from you, sir, that it made the most painful impression on my mind.

The notice which the Stated Clerk, who headed the call, served upon me did not relieve my mind. It is very short. I will read it, omitting his name:

"St. Louis, *May* 4, 1863.

"*Rev. Dr. McPheeters:*

"Dear Bro.: As your military sentence precludes your attendance, I presume I need send you no official notice of a meeting of Presbytery, called for the 15th, in which you are concerned. It, however, is but fair that you should be apprised of it. Its object you can learn from the notice served Bro. Coe. Respectfully, ——— ———."

At the same time he served the formal notice upon Pine Street Church which the Constitution directs to be sent to vacant Churches! I entirely acquit the Stated Clerk of any purpose to offer me a personal indignity. It was not that; and if it had been it would be of no importance to mention it here. But as an unconscious expression of the fact that in his esteem the suspension of the functions of my ministry by military authority changed my official relations to my Church courts, it is of importance. If I had been sick, unable to move hand or foot, he would, without question, have served on me the proper official notice. But in his view I was virtually deposed—officially I was entitled to no formal notice—as a matter of "fairness" he is willing to put me in the way of getting information, if I think it worth my while to take the trouble to do so. Vacant Churches, however, are entitled to formal notice, and he sends to Pine Street Church the proper paper! Do I mistake in this matter? Was it a simple inadvertency? Sir, this Stated Clerk was no novice in his office; he had been Stated Clerk for six or seven years, and our personal intercourse at this time was formal rather than cordial. But if a doubt remains on any mind, look at the call itself, which the Stated Clerk heads, asking for the *pro-re-nata* meeting. If ever there was a distinct laying out of work about which there were no contingencies or uncertainties to be taken into account, it is here: it is "to take measures to remove the grievances under which Pine Street Church has been laboring for some months past, and to dissolve the pastoral relation between that Church and Rev. Samuel B. McPheeters." There is plainly no lingering doubt on the minds of those who called the meeting about the "grievance," the remedy to be applied in removing it, and a "clear way" in applying it. The grievance is a deposed minister holding a nominal pastorate—the remedy is to cut the nominal tie that binds the living Church to the defunct minister, and military order No. 152, Dec. 19, 1862, has made the "clear way." So rapidly do men's minds become familiar with a new order of things—so natural is it, when men's ideas become confused about the sole headship of Christ in His Church, to begin by yielding what is claimed and then approving what is done, and end at last in vociferating, "*We have no king but Cæsar.*"

Well, sir, notwithstanding all this, it seemed to me to be my duty, if possible, to attend Presbytery and meet my responsibilities and the issues involved. For this purpose I solicited the Brigadier-General of the militia of Missouri, who was to be a member of Presbytery, to go to the Commanding General and state the case, and to request him to hold me guiltless of a breach of his order if I should go to Presbytery and attend to matters in which I was personally interested. I tried to make it easy to grant the request. I did not, therefore, ask the General to reverse his order, but to suspend it. I did not ask for so much as a written exemption, but only a verbal assurance that he would not take notice of it. The request was declined. The Presbytery was to meet on Friday. The General's decision I learned on Wednesday. On Thursday two of the pastors of the city were arrested. I was convinced, by evidence which I shall not here repeat, that the brethren who were resolved to attend Presbytery on my account ought not to take their seats; and to remove any occasion on my account for their attending I determined to throw the responsibility on those who called the meeting, and to put my resignation in the hands of Presbytery. I made no request of Presbytery. I simply gave them the right to do with it what they pleased. Moderator, it was an act of weakness which I have ever since regretted. I offer no apology for what I did. I was perplexed—the path of duty was to me uncertain—elements were coming into the question for which I was not prepared. My own personal dangers I might make up my mind to meet; but when it came to involving my brethren—my friends—I yielded. All this I laid before Presbytery, in writing, before the pastoral relation was dissolved, in a paper recalling my resignation, which they refused to entertain.

Now, allow me to make a necessary explanation and to correct a totally erroneous impression that might be made by what I have just related. If any one gets the idea from what I have stated that I intend to say or to imply that the military authorities were putting out their power to crush the Church, or that they were concerning themselves about the dissolution of a pastoral relation, let me tell you at once that I am asking no one to credit so preposterous a statement. I am neither demented myself nor assuming that those whom I address are so. This state of things admits of a perfectly rational solution on perfectly rational grounds. The military authorities were looking at the interests of the State which they were sent to guard. The State was agitated; it was *their duty to keep it quiet.* Not only all armed resistance to the authorities must at once be suppressed, but all show of resistance must at once be met, no matter under what pretext it be made. *These principles are all correct.* But what an opportunity does such a state of things give for misunderstanding, for misrepresentation! How easy to excite suspicion; how difficult to remove suspicion once excited! There, sir, lies the solution. Sentence had been pronounced upon me without any examination. Unfortunately for all concerned, my sentence was ecclesiastical—deposition from the ministry. I could do nothing to be relieved from such a sentence that even implied that I admitted the right to inflict it. What was required of me, therefore, I could not do. It was far easier for a blunt soldier to see that I did not comply with what he wanted than it was to see the grounds upon which I did it. Distinctions which appeared to me very important might easily seem to him very trivial. Let this be the condition of things, and then let some persons claiming to be *my friends* whisper the suspicion in his ear that all this was a mere pretext—let it be done artfully, with apparent candor and under professions of patriotism; let those who agree with me be represented as defending me because they were confederated with me against the Government, and is it any wonder that, in such a state of things and in a time of excitement, it was dangerous to attend Presbytery and vote in a way that seemed to approve of what I had done and condemn what the military had done?

I shall not stop to trace the history of my case through the several small *pro-re-nata* meetings of Presbytery until the dissolution of the pastoral relation was effected. You have already been informed how the St. Louis Presbytery received a commissioner whom they knew the Church had not sent, and granted a request which they new the Church never made, and in the name of pastor and people dissolved a relation which they knew neither pastor nor people desired to have dissolved. I have but two remarks to make upon this whole subject. One of them is, that while Presbytery by the hour had listened to an assault made upon me by a commissioner whom the Presbytery owed it to their own self-respect to have declined to receive, it never once occurred to them that it might be proper in them to do something to second my efforts to get before them and answer the charges made. True, I made no request on that subject. So far from asking favors I would have been more than content with having my rights. But, Moderator, it does seem to me that if I had been one of the majority of that Presbytery—if I had had the ear of the military authorities as they had it —even if I had intended to do all that they did, that I would have felt it due to the *forms* of justice—due to the sentiments of the age in which we live—due to the past history of the Presbyterian Church, at least to have made some effort to have secured to the man whom I was judging and about to condemn the opportunity of a hearing. If it had been necessary I would have moved that Presbytery wait upon the Commanding General, in a body, and if I could have found no other words, I would have taken the language of Roman Festus, and have told him, "It was not the manner of" Presbyteries "to deliver any man to 'condemnation' before that he which is accused hear the accusers face to face, and have license to answer for himself concerning the crime laid against him."

The other remark is, that if I had not been silenced by the military, and for a whole year kept under that sentence, without the sanction or approbation of the President of the United States, nothing that was done could have been accomplished. This was the great weapon with which I was assailed in my congregation, in the community, in the papers. It was represented to my congregation that, when the Government condemned me, to sustain me was to oppose the Government. To say that they wanted me to be their pastor when the Government said I should not preach, was to do a disloyal thing! Presbytery undertook to sustain the Government by carrying out in the Ecclesiastical Court the sentence of the Military Court. Multitudes in the city, who up to that time never so much as knew my name, condemned me because they wanted to support the Government, and the Government condemned me. If the Government undertook to manage the functions of my ministry, as they were on the side of the Government, it was all right, and they would defend the action of their Government. Unfortunately for my loyalty, I believed the ministry which I received from Christ was not a thing for the State to manage; and, unfortunately for their patriotism, the Government of the United States thought upon that subject just as I did. The order, in all that related to the Church, was not only a wrong to the Church of God, but being done in the name of the Government, without its approval or sanction, was a wrong to the United States Government. When the matters were brought before the Chief Executive, he promptly corrected what his subordinate officers had done. And I have an abiding confidence that this Assembly will as promptly correct what a subordinate Court of the Church has done.

After I had been suspended from my ministry for a year, without my knowledge a petition in my behalf was gotten up, signed by some of the leading men of St. Louis, and sent to Washington. Just before it was sent a gentleman of high position with whom it was left for his signature showed it to me, and called my attention to the fact that there was no sufficient or clear statement of the case in the petition. I, therefore, made out a statement, unaccompanied with the orders upon which the statement rested, and it was forwarded to Washington in a way that secured its reaching the eye of the President. The letter of Mr. Lincoln, which has been published, was his reply to the first imperfect statement that was submitted to him. After he saw the full statement and documents which I sent, I received a letter from the Attorney-General from which I take the liberty of reading the following extract as of public interest. After stating that he had laid the papers before the President which had been sent him for that purpose, he says:

"The President, in substance, answered that it was always his wish and purpose to hold individuals responsible for their own acts, without any reference to the fact that they happened to be members or officers of particular Churches; that the fact of being a member or pastor of a Church was no excuse for personal misdemeanor; but that he never intended to assume, or to permit his subordinate officers to assume, any power to govern or control the churches, or in any manner to determine who may and who may not preach and minister in them. You say that you are in the full fruition of your civil rights, and the President considers you as free in the enjoyment of your ecclesiastical rights. I write this with the express permission of the President, and I presume to advise that you quietly resume the exercise of all the rights, duties and functions of your office as if no interruption had occurred."

Sir, I take comfort in all that I have suffered, and can venture to claim that I have not been a useless citizen if my case was the occasion of bringing out so distinct a declaration of so important a question at so opportune a time. If I had yielded to the clamor about disloyalty, and had done what was required of me as a condition of being permitted to preach, the sentence might have been removed upon personal grounds, but it would have left a precedent of incalculable *evil*.

As it is, we have got back to the old doctrine. The citizen is amenable to the State, the minister to the Church. The State, for sufficient cause, may hang, imprison or banish; the Church, for sufficient cause, may depose, excommunicate, silence or censure; but neither State nor Church can undertake to administer both classes of punishment, even when both are just, much less to administer both when neither is just.

Thus ended my troubles as far as the State was concerned, and the question immediately arose, what I should do in reference to Pine Street Church? Should I preach in that church or not? Considering the matter, I thought there were just two questions to be decided by me—a question of ecclesiastical right and a question of Christian expediency.

Did I have, ecclesiastically, the right to preach in Pine Street Church? It appeared to me plainly that I did. And on the ground that the appeal which had been taken to Synod against the action of St. Louis Presbytery dissolving the pastoral relation had by that body been received, declared to be in order and docketed for trial—the appeal being entertained by Synod I thought, and still think, took the case entirely out of the hands of Presbytery, and arrested everything that Presbytery had done until Synod should decide the case. The language of the Book of Discipline (chap. vii., sec. iii., paragraph xv.) is: "The necessary operation of an appeal is to suspend all further proceedings on the ground of the sentence appealed from. But if a sentence of suspension or excommunication from Church privileges, or deposition from office, be the sentence appealed from, it shall be considered as in force until the appeal shall be issued." The sentence appealed from in this was none of these, but the dissolution of the pastoral relation, and, therefore, the sentence was not "in force until the appeal was issued;" and if it was not in force I was pastor of Pine Street Church while the case was *sub judice;* and in my judgment the soundness of this conclusion is not affected by the question whether Synod did or did not do right in entertaining the appeal, or whether an appeal would or would not be, in such a case, right or wrong; it was the decision of Synod, and I had a right to act under it. Presbytery could no more set it aside than I could the action of Presbytery.

But with the ecclesiastical right in my hands, it was still a grave question of Christian expediency what I ought to do. This matter I tried to look at fairly and conscientiously. I weighed the matter in my mind for two weeks, notwithstanding urgent solicitations to decide it at once. My complaint sets forth with sufficient distinctness the reasons that determined me to return to my pulpit. I put them in my complaint, that the members of Presbytery might have an opportunity of knowing them and canvassing them. I will only recapitulate them here:

1. In a Session of seven, six Elders urged me to this course.

2. The Standing Committee of Session to secure supplies invited me to preach. The action of Presbytery had been a simple dissolution of the pastoral relation, at least so it appeared upon its minutes.

3. The Church, by a very large majority, I knew, and it will not be denied, desired me to preach. The interest of the Church seemed to demand that I should do so. The congregation was in danger of scattering. They were without preaching. In the peculiar circumstances of the Church it was almost impossible to get a supply. An effort had been made; a most excellent brother had come as a supply for a short time during my disability, and while he was received kindly by all parties, he could not be induced to remain. This must be the case until Synod shall meet.

4. I was urged by a number of gentlemen of prominence in the community—none of them members of my Church, and some of them not members of any Church, but all of them anxious that the position of the President in relation to the Church should be known—immediately to resume my labors as the speediest way of undoing the wrong that had been done; and as I was then convinced that the President had never sanctioned what the military had done, and as the interests of the Church seemed to require me to return to my pulpit, this had no small influence with me.

5. As to the minority in the Church, there had been an important change in its relation to the Church. True, I knew some were determined to stay and fight it out, but several families of the most influence in the minority, before my military sentence was removed, had taken pews in other churches, and expressed the determination to have nothing more to do with the matter. Others showed a disposition to return, and expressed themselves satisfied, and received me cordially as their pastor; and still a larger part of the minority, and that a very active and bitter part, without any reference to me, and when they thought I would not be permitted to preach during the war, had made arrangements to establish a Mission Church in a distant part of the city. They had a minister on the ground, they had once applied for their certificates of dismission to organize the Church, but withdrew the request, and will certainly take them as soon as they are no longer needed as a reserve force to carry on the contest in the Church.

Looking at all the circumstances, I judged it my duty to do what I did—

return to my pulpit until the case was decided. I had the right to do so. I judged it expedient. It was painful to me to stand in such a relation to those who so bitterly denounced me and so wrongly accused me. My congregations were good, although but few of the minority attended. That few will do me the justice to admit that I made their stay as pleasant as I could; that I never alluded in sermon or prayer in an offensive way to our Church troubles.

When Presbytery met last month they passed the action against which I am here to complain.

I have complained of it as hasty, harsh and most unjust, and as passed when not only the representatives of Pine Street Church and myself, but a large number of the members of Presbytery were prevented, by reason of a military order with which we could not with a good conscience comply.

The action was hasty; no proper inquiry was made into the facts upon which Presbytery was called to act. All that Presbytery heard was from two members of the committee of Presbytery, neither of whom had ever had a word of conversation with me or with any member of the Session of Pine Street Church, except the memorialist, on the subject; neither of whom probably knew that the matter was coming up before Presbytery, and both of whom had voted to dissolve the pastoral relation. Now this, and an *ex parte* statement from the Elder who drew up the memorial, was all that Presbytery heard—it was all they seemed to desire to hear. They have from the beginning shown a strange indifference to hearing me, an indifference that I have thought amounted to a reluctance. They voted down a resolution to refer the matter to their own committee; and this reason is said to have been given by a member of Presbytery, now a member of this body, that it would not do to delay action, as the party in the Church favorable to me was gaining strength every day, and it would soon be too late, or words to that effect. At any rate the matter was dispatched as if no time was to be lost.

This action I complain of as *harsh*. The memorial of nine members of the Church, which is made a part of the record of Presbytery, in addition to a false statement about the number who had left the Church,* charges me with "want of submission to Presbytery;" "with encouraging a revolutionary, contumacious spirit," and "preventing a Christian spirit from being shown;" with "gathering members to the Church (some of whom joined upon profession of faith, and all of whom joined without solicitation upon my part), more from a desire to aid in a party triumph than from any desire to build up the Church of Christ." And the action of Presbytery is based upon and apparently endorses the statements, and does it without hearing me, without any evidence that would have satisfied impartial men that they were true, and when in fact they were false and libelous. Moderator, I ask the Assembly, what is a minister's character worth if such proceedings are allowed? I ask them to compare the course of St. Louis Presbytery with the solemn words of our noble Standards—Dis. ch. V., § 1: "As the honor and success of the gospel depends in a great measure on the character of its ministers, each Presbytery ought, with the greatest care and impartiality, to watch over the personal and professional conduct of all its ministers. But as, on the one hand, no minister ought, on account of his office, to be screened from the hand of justice, nor his offenses to be slightly censured, so neither ought scandalous charges be received against him by a judicatory on slight grounds." And yet St. Louis Presbytery received such charges against me, from a man whom they could not but know that I regarded as so hostile to me as to be incapable of doing me justice; and they receive them not as a ground of charges to be investigated, but as things true and a ground of action, and *spread the memorial in full upon their minutes*, without one word to show that they did not fully endorse them; and I appeal to every one if this is not the impression that memorial and action will make on those who come after us.

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* The memorial sent to Presbytery, which was signed only by nine members, claims "nearly a hundred." The six members of Session, in their complaint to Assembly, say, after a careful examination of the roll, allowing all the names the minority can possibly claim, that it is about fifty.

The haste and harshness of this proceeding is aggravated by its gross injustice. If the action of the Synod of Missouri, in receiving the appeal and declaring it to be in order, suspended the effect of their action, what right had they to censure me? I do not argue the question, whether the Synod ought to have received an appeal in such a case. It is not necessary that I should, and I do not wish to take the time. If it comes up, I wish some member of the House would take the pains to examine it in the light of the recorded facts of this case, and I venture the assertion, that if he comes to the conclusion that an appeal does not lie in this case, he will, at the same time, have to admit that in the Presbyterian Church fractions of Presbyteries may commit the grossest outrages upon the rights of pastors and Churches, for which there is no adequate remedy until the remedy is too late. My position, however, is: Admit that Synod was mistaken, erroneous, violated the Constitution, St. Louis Presbytery was not the body to correct the mistake or interpret the Constitution for Synod; that the action of Synod should have protected me from the censure of Presbytery, and that Presbytery are liable to censure for so harsh an action, which was unjust in itself and unjust in them to administer.

And this injustice is accompanied by another act of the grossest injustice, which characterized all the proceedings of Presbytery from first to last, viz.: permitting an Elder of my Church—a man known to be most hostile to me—in long speeches, by direct statements, by insinuations, and by all the means a perverted ingenuity can invent, to make charges against me of matters connected with my duties as a citizen, which, if they mean any thing that a Church court should hear at all, are crimes that the court was bound to try, and for which I should be punished if I am guilty. This I feel to be utterly intolerable, and for which I have a right to look for redress.

I ask the Assembly to look at another point which I make in my complaint. Synod received the appeal and complaint against the dissolution of the pastoral relation, declared it to be in order, and docketed it for trial. What right had St. Louis Presbytery to decide that Synod would not take the matter up as an appeal? The fact is, Synod did receive it as an appeal and not a member of St. Louis Presbytery objected; but if an appeal, the book declares "the necessary effect is to suspend all further proceeding on the ground of the sentence appealed from," except in specified cases, of which this is not one. But this action of Presbytery is "further proceedings on the ground of the sentence appealed from;" the original minute is, "*Resolved*, that the *request of Pine Street Church be granted* and the pastoral relation dissolved;" and now Presbytery go on and add an additional sentence, that I shall not, even if invited by the Session, preach in the pulpit of Pine Street Church. Now, sir, I hold that the entertaining of the appeal by Synod took the case entirely out of the hands of Presbytery; that the dissolution of the pastoral relation was not operative until Synod should issue the case; that if the higher court should sustain the appeal no new instalment would be necessary, and, therefore, that Presbytery, on the grounds of the action of June 23, had no right to prohibit me from exercising the functions of a minister to Pine Street Church; and this position, I contend, is not affected by the fact whether Synod ought or ought not to have received the appeal, for that was not a question for Presbytery, but for a higher court to decide.

Now, sir, I only add, in aggravation of the injustice and wrong of Presbytery toward me, that the action would not have passed had not the members of Presbytery been prevented from attending by the military order, which required conditions with which we say with a good conscience we could not comply. I shall not argue this matter at all. If any one can not see why some of us refuse to attend ecclesiastical courts upon the conditions imposed in this order, I know that I am powerless to show him what my scruples are. I have no trouble about taking an oath, for I have taken an oath which the military say is sufficient. But I have trouble about taking any oath as a condition of sitting in an ecclesiastical court. I have trouble in refusing a member of an ecclesiastical court his seat until I inquire if he has taken an oath. I have trouble in rejecting him if he has all the qualifications which the Church requires, even if he wants qualifications which this order requires. I have trouble in an ecclesiastical court in any way enforcing a military order. These troubles and scruples are none of them removed by the fact that I am thoroughly convinced that the end aimed at in this order was an end which the military authorities were bound in some way to effect—namely, to prevent bodies of men of influence from meeting and acting in a way injurious to the State, if they have any reason to suspect that such bodies of men are about to meet. I am moreover convinced that there was no purpose on the part of the military authorities to interfere with the liberties of the Church. I will say, moreover, that I can not and do not blame the military authorities, in States where there is a division of sentiment upon the vital national questions convulsing the country, for suspecting ecclesiastical courts. It seems to me the Church has brought this evil upon herself; for if Church courts, when their members approve of the action of Government, have a right as a Church court to say so, the argument is near at hand that those who disapprove may feel that they have a right to express their disapprobation. Why should not the military conclude they will? If Church courts will "handle and conclude" "civil affairs which concern the Commonwealth," then an inexorable logic compels me to admit the Commonwealth has a right to know what they are handling and how they conclude them. I can not see why, if the Church, as she has, comes in and takes part in the affairs of the State, that the State should not come in and take part in the affairs of the Church. I am honestly convinced that all that I object to in this order is owing to the unfortunate way in which a legitimate end was sought to be attained. If theologians should undertake to write orders affecting the movements of armies, they would be in great danger of entangling them in hopeless confusion;

and it is equally difficult for any military man to make orders about Churches or Church courts which will not throw them into confusion. But all this does not relieve the difficulty when the thing required is felt to be something which it offends conscience to do. The whole subject is full of difficulty and perplexity. The only practical solution that I know is, for those who can not comply with orders that are thought to be necessary, to make a respectful petition for a removal of what they regard as a grievance; and if this can not be had, quietly to remain at home until matters right themselves or the orders are reversed. This, I say, seems to me the only practical way of at once obeying the order and keeping a good conscience. I am glad, however, that this whole subject is beginning to attract attention and awaken discussion. The thing to be settled are the principles that underlie the whole question. And permit me to say, that while those of us who are in circumstances most to be affected by the apparent collision between Church and State are glad to see the matter discussed, some of us greatly regret that any of our Church papers have made, as nearly all of them have, the religious sentiments of the Commanding General a part of the argument, as though his being a Roman Catholic had induced him to issue this order against Protestants. This is most unjust, and I am utterly incapable of taking any advantage of the prejudice which such an impression, uncontradicted, might make in a body of Protestants. There is no evidence whatever that this had any thing to do in the matter. Its terms embrace Roman Catholic as well as Protestant assemblies. The fact is, this order, as explained, appears to me to bear more heavily upon them than upon any other denomination, for it seems to require that all clergymen shall take the oath prescribed to those who solemnize matrimony; and as marriage is to the Roman Catholic a sacrament, I can well see how he may have difficulties which I do not have, for I have no difficulty about taking an oath to qualify me to solemnize matrimony; it is, in one aspect of it, a civil contract, which I admit the State has a right to regulate; but if I regarded it as a sacrament of Christ's Church, then I would have objections, yes, and very great objections, to qualifying myself to perform a sacrament by an oath to the State; and I am free to say if I were a Protestant General I would not enforce such an oath upon a Roman Catholic priest, and if I were a Roman Catholic priest I would not take it. But what I want to say is, that those are looking in altogether the wrong direction who think our troubles come from Roman Catholic Generals or any other kind of generals. It comes from Protestants—yes, and from Presbyterians—the members of your

Churches over whom you have a direct control; these are the persons who have troubled your Churches and pastors. They ask for these orders; they urge the military to make them. This order was, I firmly believe, asked by one Protestant denomination against another. When St. Louis Presbytery was about to meet, the Provost-Marshal was waited upon by a minister, now a commissioner here, and an Elder of my Church, and he was asked as a favor to send a deputy to Presbytery to carry out the order. The help we ask from this Assembly, the help we think you ought to give us, is to make such a deliverance as will show that you disapprove of your Church members carrying Church matters before military tribunals for settlement. Tell your Church members, when your ministers do things which ministers ought not to do to bring the case before the Church court and not before military tribunals. This will relieve the military and relieve your ministers.

I am sorry to have occupied so much time. I would not have come before this body with any personal matter. There are principles involved in this case which are of vital interest to many of your Churches, and, in concluding, I will state distinctly what they are: Besides the purely ecclesiastical questions in this case, there is the question, how far you will approve of the members of the Church invoking military authority to control your Churches? And another question is, what limits does the Presbyterian Church allow to its pastors, who, from conscientious convictions of duty, have stood aloof in the pulpit and pastorate from the civil contest now desolating the land? This, after all, underlies my whole case. This, all parties will agree, has created the trouble in Pine Street Church. And if such a question is to come up, it is hardly possible it should come so free from side issues. If I am in error on this matter, it is an error of long standing. My record runs back to the beginning of my ministry. I have not taken it with reference to these troubles. I have only adhered to a life long rule in these times. My conduct has been consistent, uniform, and is the result of conscientious conviction. This every one knows who knows me at all.

I do not wish to make any false impressions. I will give you frankly my position: As a citizen I have done, and expect to continue to do, all duties enjoined upon me by the Word of God, and that Word I interpret by the standards of our Church. As a minister, and in my pulpit, I have not taken, and do not expect to take, any part in our civil contest. I do not ask any member of this Assembly to say that my course in this respect meets his approval—that he would have acted as I have. But I do ask you if you will undertake to compel me to do in this matter what with a good conscience I tell you I can not do, or to punish me for not having done it? Is it a *sine qua non* in the Presbyterian Church that your ministers, as such, must take an active part in our national struggle? I ask you to leave me the freedom and Christian liberty which the Standards of our Church give me.

I admit most fully that Christian congregations have the same liberty on this class of subjects that I claim for myself and accord to others. If my Church insisted on my pursuing a different course, I would not have been here with any complaint about a dissolution of the pastoral relation. But on that subject my Church are satisfied. Every Elder but one, the whole body of the deacons and the great majority of the communicants—those who built the Church, those who sustain it, those without whom it will not be self-sustaining*—tell you, in all the forms they can, that they are satisfied. This Assembly will have to come in and say I shall not minister to them because, as a minister, I stand aloof from this civil strife. Of course, the same principle that applies to me in my present charge applies to me every where. If I am separated from this Church I ought not to be installed over any other Church.

Moderator, this seems to me to be the principle that is involved and the question that will be decided. I neither ask nor desire the Assembly to let their decision be influenced by any consideration but the consideration of what is right. The Presbyterian Church can well afford to do without my services in any of her churches; the question is, can she afford to declare the principle she will declare in practically throwing me out of her ministry. One more word and I am done. I came up here to complain of St. Louis Presbytery. I have made no complaint of any other parties. I have said nothing of what the minority in my Church have done. I want the Presbytery to have the fullest and ablest defense, and I care not who makes it. It may be by members of Presbytery or by any other person they may choose to have, though not a member of Presbytery, if you judge proper to allow it; but I wish to remind the members of that Presbytery that charges and insinuations against me as a "disloyal man" is no part of their defense. If I am disloyal in any sense that should have any injurious effect upon my case before this court, I am guilty not only of crime, but perjury; and when I am tried for this crime I want it done upon charges regularly tabled. I want the evidence not in loose statements and insinuations and patriotic speeches, but as testimony *under oath.* I want to have an opportunity to examine the testimony. The very grossest of all the wrongs done me has been that my Presbytery has listened to statements made about me which those who made them would *not have dared to make under oath.* For nearly two years I have asked again and again if any man has anything to allege against me as a Christian citizen that is criminal according to the teaching of God's Word or our standards, that he will make his charge and produce his witness. Now, sir, what I have asked as a defiance of my accusers, I demand as a right of this Assembly; and if you hear any statements made or any insinuations thrown out that leaves the impression on your minds that I am guilty of such an offense, or that raises doubts in your minds, that you order St. Louis Presbytery to take that matter up and issue the case. I thank the Assembly for the patience and attention with which they have listened to me, and I hope they may be guided by God's Spirit to a wise and just decision.

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*It was stated in the complaint of members of Session to the Assembly, that the report made by the Treasurer of Pine Street Church to the committee of Presbytery appointed to look into its condition shows that in a period of nine years the average contributions of the whole minority, covering all the current expenses of the Church, such as liquidation of Church debt, pew rents, repairs of the church and incidental expenses, amounted to less than $400 a year. The same report shows that the entire pecuniary interest they have in the Church property is $1,825.

After Mr. Strong concluded, fifteen minutes were allowed Dr. McPheeters to correct misstatements made by Mr. Strong.

Moderator: The Assembly can now see why I objected to statements affecting my character not made under the solemnity of an oath. You have heard for seven hours the speech of a lawyer accustomed to an ingenious working up of evidence and facts to suit his purposes. He has gone over the history of the war in Missouri. He has pretended to state facts designed to prejudice your minds and cast suspicion upon the character of members of my Church; he has thrown out insinuations and made inferences, blending things true and not true, as suited him. I began to take notes of his misstatements; I have a sheet full before me. I can not in the time allowed take them up one by one and refute them. I can give you but a specimen of one or two which I will take just as they are noted. He says the fate of Fort Sumpter was announced with exultation by a member of Pine Street Church, a friend of mine, and Mr. Strong knows that this has been publicly denied, over his own signature, by the gentleman accused. It served a purpose to state the charge and omit the denial. He says a letter found in a "captured rebel mail bag" speaks of Dr. McPheeters as giving great comfort to known traitors, or words to that effect. The letter alluded to was published, and it was evident from the letter that the Dr. McPheeters was in the South, and was a doctor of medicine. This, I say, was manifest in the letter, but Mr. Strong has no scruples about stating it here and leaving you to believe that I was the person. This is his manner, and the reason I want him to make his statements under oath.

Again, he says I baptized a child named Sterling Price, dressed in "rebel colors," &c., &c. Mr. S. says he was not there. I was, and saw no rebel colors, and I do not believe there were any. As to the baptism, I administered just as the Directory of Worship appoints. I name my own children and other people name theirs. I was not consulted as to the name, and had no more responsibilty than the Clerk of Sessions who recorded it. But I can not waste my time on points like these. The Assembly will notice that Mr. Strong attacks every one who differs from him, as "disloyal." The Session is disloyal, the body of Pine Street Church is disloyal, Synod is disloyal. In Missouri we are accustomed to this. There are men who set themselves up as standards, and if you differ from them they denounce you as "disloyal." Mr. Strong has had a great deal to say about my not coming out and giving my views about the war, when he and a few others made the demand of me to which I alluded in my first speech. It seems from what he now says that the Provost-Marshal had determined to arrest me upon my return from Columbus for what I did in the Assembly; that he endorsed me as "loyal," and begged him not to arrest me, promising him if he would not that when I came back he would get from me a statement that would satisfy the Provost-Marshal. Hence his letter to me. It was to satisfy the Provost-Marshal that he got up his letter, addressed to me as pastor of Pine Street Church, asking my views of the war. Well, sir, instead of such an uncandid course as this, why did he not come to me and frankly tell me how the case stood, and let me have some little choice as to the way in which I would act in the premises. Instead of that he undertakes to draw from me, as pastor, a written statement of my views of the war. He was aiming at one thing and I at another. He was determined to get something to satisfy the Provost-Marshal, and I was determined, as a pastor, to keep free from all entanglement with political and civil matters. What a world of trouble a little manly frankness would have saved.

This explains what I did not understand at the time of the correspondence. Mr. Strong, just before his letter, came to me twice and asked me to go to the Provisional Governor of Missouri and make favorable mention of him as a suitable person to be appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court of the State, and while, for reasons which I gave him, I never did as requested, yet it seemed to me very strange that he should make such a request if he thought me so notoriously a bad citizen as to injure my character as a Christian minister!

One more point and I am done. Mr. Strong has told you that he saw the original order against me before it was issued, and he has also told you that he accepted, "though with reluctance," the office of Chairman of the Military Commission to manage Pine Street Church and selected his associates! He tells you, too, that he went to Washington to prevent the order being revoked. And he, an Elder in that Church, and under solemn vows to God to study the peace, purity and unity of the Church! Yes, he volunteers to tell this Assembly that he gave the military authorities his hand to lay upon the kingly crown of Christ! Sir, I knew all this before, but I did not think it proper to introduce it. But do you wonder that I resisted and protested against these things when done by office-bearers in the Church? Do you wonder there is trouble in a Presbyterian Church when these things are done? He has himself told you the whole story. He was behind that order; what was done was done with his knowledge and consent.*

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*Mr. Strong drafted the original order of December 19. This was perfectly plain from internal evidence, and was afterward publicly stated by him in a meeting of the Church. His statement was substantially this: The order was shown him; he regarded the language as too severe and asked the privilege of mitigating its harshness. It was granted to him, and he wrote the order as it was issued. This explains everything!

CHAPTER XV.

REMARKS OF DRS. RICE, JUNKIN, MUSGRAVE AND SCHENCK—ASSEMBLY'S DECISION—THE DECISION REVIEWED.

As the speeches of Hon. William T. Wood and Rev. Dr. McPheeters have been reported in full, it will not be without interest to record the sentiments which were expressed by certain members of the Assembly who looked at the case of Dr. McPheeters from opposite points of view.

Dr. N. L. Rice said—

He desired to specify certain peculiarities of this case, as it had been conducted before the Assembly, and which made it unlike any thing ever heard of in adjudication.

The first is, we have heard a memorialist in this case and given him all the rights of an original party. The like never occurred before in the history of our Church, and it presented the case in a very peculiar light.

The second peculiarity is, that we have virtually a minister on trial—*virtually* on trial; visited, too, with the severest penalties that could result from a trial; and yet he is on trial without charges, without citation, without specifications tabled, without a list of witnesses; in short, without any of those formalities and precautions by which our Constitution guards the sacred rights of accused ministers. Ah, sir, it is a sad state of things when a minister can be put on trial for his character and ministerial life without allowing him any of the means of protecting himself that the Constitution guarantees.

Third peculiarity: This high Court of Appeal has heard a large amount of *statement* of parties as if it were testimony, and have heard many documents read which are not matter of record. Now, a Court of Appeal can not, without violating our Constitution, hear any documents that are not matter of record; and if the record is incomplete, this is not the place to complete it; it must be sent back to the lower court to be completed. He felt that he was, perhaps, to blame for not trying to arrest this irregularity; but at the time he thought best not to do it, for one effort in that direction had met with ill success. He lamented that a Court of Jesus Christ had permitted such a course, and by it so involved and embarrassed the case. We are called upon to decide upon statements made upon both sides—statements made and contradicted—unsupported by testimony given under sanction of an oath; statements neither proved nor disproved. We have permitted the absent to be assailed in these statements. We have been told that a large majority of the ministers of the Synod of Missouri are disloyal, and, of course, immoral. The whole process is unprecedented. Never are we in greater danger than when we are trying to get at a good end and are unscrupulous about the means of reaching it. He illustrated this by the ill-advised arrangement called "The Plan of Union" of 1801. The end seemed desirable; the means had well nigh proved disastrous. He would not go into a discussion of the military order requiring men to take a certain oath in order to qualify for a seat in ecclesiastical bodies. It was certain that many good men could not take that oath. Had he been there he might have taken it; but when he went to Presbytery he was bound by a *previous* oath to go into Presbytery by our *Book*. One principle involved in this case is, the validity of a Presbytery and of its action when a majority of the body were not there through restraint. Wise and good men could not take the oath as a qualification to attend Presbytery; they thought it compromised their rights of conscience, and the Presbytery should have been very careful what they did under such circumstances.

The real charge brought against Dr. McPheeters was *disloyalty*. On this the opposition of the minority of his Church was based; on this the allegation of loss of usefulness was founded; on this charge the Presbytery proceeded. This is manifest in all the pleadings there and in all the pleadings here. This was a charge affecting his moral character, for disloyalty is a sin. Had the Presbytery a right to punish him for this sin and to fix this blot upon his character without arraigning him, tabling charges and giving him an opportunity of defense? Suppose Mr. Strong had come up before Presbytery saying, "My pastor has been guilty of dishonesty, or my pastor has been drunk, and I want you not to try him for drunkenness, but to dissolve his pastoral relation; for after being drunk he can not be useful in the Church of Pine street." Would the Presbytery have listened to him? Would they have ventured to dissolve his pastoral relation on the rumor that he had been drunk, without ascertaining the facts by a fair and legal trial? Would they have dissolved the relation and yet left the minister in good standing—praised, even, as a godly and excellent man? No, sir. And yet this is just what they did. They entertained this charge affecting his moral character, assumed its truth without citation, trial or testimony; fastened the charge upon him, spotted him and dissolved his pastoral relation; substantially deposed him from his pastorate, yet pretended not to touch his good standing as a minister; left him, as they say, in good and regular standing. If Presbytery believed that he was disloyal, they should have *tried* him and given him the usual opportunity of defense. They did not go far enough if the charge is well founded; if he was loyal they have gone too far. In either case the Presbytery was wrong. A Church court is bound to protect its humblest member against false accusations, and no man is to be assumed to be guilty without trial and proof. He (Dr. Rice) was unwilling to have the world scoff at us for having ministers in good and regular standing, yet so spotted by the act of their brethren that they can not be asked to preach in our pulpits. If we sustain the Presbytery in this act, who would dare to ask Dr. McPheeters to his pulpit? They have inflicted upon him, to all intents and purposes, the extreme sentence of ecclesiastical law, and yet have never given him a *trial.*

In times of excitement like these words lose their definitions. What is the extent of the words *loyal* and *loyalty?* It is difficult to get the same answer from any two men. To illustrate: A few years ago he (Dr. Rice) was charged with being an abolitionist by one class of men, and by another class with being pro-slavery; and both charges were based upon the grounds of the same publication. Dr. McPheeters did not declare his loyalty to Mr. Strong's satisfaction. He (Dr. Rice) did not know whether that brother is loyal or not. That was what the Presbytery ought to have found out before they punished him. When asked upon the subject, he said he had taken an oath of allegiance and kept it. This was enough up to the point at which they were ready to try him. What more did they want? The great principle which lies at the foundation of the *unity* of the Church is this: that the degree of unity of faith and practice required for membership is that which is specified in the Confession of Faith, Government and Discipline of the Church. The terms of membership are all inside of the Book; all outside of it does not belong to the terms of union and communion. Dr. Breckinridge believes in the pre-millennial advent of Christ; the speaker does not. We must be left to do as we please in regard to matters outside of the Book; if not, the terms of communion are violated and the unity of the Church destroyed. You must alter the Book before you can punish me for what is outside of it. Where there is no law there is no transgression. If the man who charges this brother with wrong can prove that he has preached or done what this Book forbids, or refused to preach or do what it requires, let him do it and his case is made out. But you can not convict him, as a minister and a Presbyterian, of crime unless the Book by which he has agreed to be tried pronounces it a crime; nor can you convict him of what it does condemn without proof. The question is: Has the minister done any thing contrary to our Book and to the Word of God? If it is proved that he has, then punish; not before. Take the position, you must come up to my standard or I will denounce you, and the *peace* of the Church is gone. Take the position that a Presbytery can fix a standard unknown to our Book, and terms of communion not found in it, and the *unity* of the Church is destroyed. If the Assembly should command him (Dr. Rice) outside of this Book, he would not obey.

If there is anything about this man, personally, the Presbytery can take it up in an orderly way; but they have no right to spot him as a disloyal, *i. e.*, an immoral man, without a trial. Sustain the action of the St. Louis Presbytery and where is the Church that will have him? You really depose him from the ministry. Take my liberty, take my property, said Dr. Rice, but do not kill my ministerial character! Send this thing back to the Presbytery, and if they find him disloyal, let them go *farther;* if not, let them not go so far.

If a man can stand the ordeal of a military vigilance for a year or more, the hue and cry of popular clamor, and the jealousy of public suspicion, with an Elder after him all the time, pursuing him even to strange cities, he must be pure indeed if he stand the test. But this brother has done it. No fault has been proven, and he is found a pure man, even his enemies being judges.

Why, sir, Dr. Hodge, in the Assembly of 1861, took quite as strong ground as Dr. McPheeters has ever taken in favor of non-intervention of the Church in political matters. Is he disloyal? The Synod of Kentucky passed strong resolutions against such interference, Dr. R. J. Breckinridge taking the lead in them. Is Dr. Breckinridge disloyal? If a man can speak seven hours with entire license to say what he pleased, as Mr. Strong did, and yet not adduce the remotest proof or make any show of a case against his pastor's loyalty, it is surely evidence that the case is not very capable of being made.

But we must not forget there was one astounding proof: he baptized a baby by the name of "Sterling Price!" True, he did not know it beforehand—he had not the naming of the child; and because, in the midst of the baptismal sacrament, he did not back out at the name he is disloyal to his country! If the name had been Beelzebub it might hardly have been proper to falter. And yet such are the things relied upon to destroy this man's ministerial character for loyalty, together with the moving fact that this Elder lay with a pistol under his head, and that this woman had said so, and that woman had said something else!

He (Dr. Rice) did not know whether Dr. McPheeters was loyal or not, but he held him so till it was proved otherwise; and until it is proved that he is guilty he would defend him. God forbid that he should vote to stop the mouth of a minister whose opponents declare him to be a pure, holy, zealous and humble Christian, and an able minister of the Word. Prove his disloyalty, and he would go further than the Presbytery went.

He would briefly notice another point. This *pro-re-nata* meeting was called "to consider and redress grievances." Called at whose request?—that of the pastor or of the congregation? Neither; but by outsiders—ministers without charges and Elders of other Churches. If Pine Street Church had grievances, Pine Street Church could say so; but outsiders had no right to come in and ask for such a meeting. The result was reached by a gross irregularity, and by such outside interference as no respectable Church in the land would endure. Presbytery called to break a tie which those most interested did not wish broken! Sir, I do not know how I should feel with the military arm pressing me on one side, and my brethren, who ought to protect me, pressing me on the other; but I doubt whether I might have passed the ordeal as well as this brother.

The phrase, "grant the *request* of the Church," is a clerical error, it is said, and doubtless is, for the Church made no such request; and Mr. Strong got himself appointed Commissioner by the residue of the meeting at a late hour in the night, after the majority had withdrawn. The whole proceeding was irregular and unheard of. Now, finally, came the full release from disability from the President of the United States. Dr. McPheeters was there. He had no place else to go. He had a right to preach; the Session had a right to ask him to preach. The pulpit had never been formally declared vacant. The Presbytery had never forbidden him to preach. He was urged to enter upon duty; he did so, and then the Presbytery came down upon him with this prohibition to minister there, of which he here complains. Moderator, it is a very serious question whether you will conciliate that Church and secure for our action the confidence and respect of men by approving such a series of blunders.

Dr. Musgrave said: "I fully justify the Government in all they have done in the way of military arrests, orders and restraints. . . . I approve of the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*," &c.

Dr. Schenck remarked: "Had I been in Missouri I would cheerfully have taken the oath, and I can perceive no good reason why every minister in the Presbytery of St. Louis should not have done so."

Dr. George Junkin, who, in the Assembly of 1862, had co-operated with Dr. Breckinridge, now returns to sounder and more constitutional views. He said "that most of the points to which he would have spoken had been anticipated by Dr. Rice, and made so clear that he (Dr. Junkin) would not touch upon them. A few others he would notice. He considered the principles involved in this case to be of transcendent importance—principles for which our Presbyterian ancestors in North Britain long struggled, even under the cruelty of a Charles and the claymore of a Claverhouse—principles for which the men who fought under the "Banner of the Blue" contended to the death. The rights of Christ's crown and the stipulations of His covenant were involved in this case. And whilst he considered Dr. McPheeters politically wrong, he was ecclesiastically right. The speaker would not have done as his brother McPheeters had done in regard to civil affairs. In his capacity of *citizen* he would have been so prompt to let his decided adherence to the Government be known that no one would have asked the *minister* questions upon the subject. But one man's conscience is not the guide of another man's actions. Dr. McPheeters' course was marked out by his own peculiar views of duty, and in these even his enemies give him credit for sincerity and conscientiousness. If, as a citizen, he erred in not displaying zeal enough for the Government—if even his *secret sympathies* were with the land of his birth, and his political creed was not orthodox (but these have never been proven to have been so)—if all that his pursuers have suspected was capable of proof—that was a question for the *military* tribunals, not for the *ecclesiastical;* and he was answerable to the military power—not in his *official capacity* as a *minister of Christ* (unless he had used his office to the detriment of the State, which is not pretended), but he was answerable in his *civil capacity* as a member of the Commonwealth.

They might ask the *man* for his political opinions, and concerning his civil derelictions; they had no right to ask the *minister*, unless it was alleged that he had prostituted his pulpit to the injury of the State—a thing not pretended, much less proved. It was Erastianism—Erastianism of the direst type—the Erastianism of the sword, to punish the *minister* for the imagined political errors of the *man;* whilst the man, the *citizen*, was left to all his civil franchises. Sir, it is amazing that logical minds *can not*, and that religious minds *will* not, see this distinction, so important in its bearings upon the question of religious liberty and the rights of conscience! He thanked God that we had a President at the head of our Government who understands the principles of religious liberty, the rights of conscience, and the relations between the Church and State better than some Doctors of Divinity with whom he had conversed on this subject. The President saw the blunder his subordinates had committed, and, with the perspicacity of a clear head and the candor of an honest heart, he applied the remedy. In his own pithy and pregnant style he tells his subordinates that he would not himself undertake, nor would he permit them, "to run the Churches." Would to God the members of this Assembly, and our preachers generally, would learn wisdom from that admirable letter of our President; and whilst he wisely refrains from "running the Churches," let the Church refrain from attempts to run the State. He deeply regretted that Dr. McPheeters' views of duty had involved him in these distressing difficulties. But, Moderator, mark these words: when the history of the struggles for religious liberty and the rights of conscience in this land is fairly written, this suffering man will occupy a position on the roll of its honored champions which the best of us may envy!

Now, the entire ecclesiastical proceedings, resulting in the substantial removal of this confessedly godly, gifted and faithful man from the ministry were based upon the *military* infliction of an *ecclesiastical* sentence. Instead of defending this brother against the oppression of the hand of military power by entreaty, and such influence as might have stayed that hand, his Presbytery made that oppression a pretext for dissolving his pastoral relation. Without being asked by either pastor or people they get up a *pro-re-nata* meeting, worry and perplex this sick, nervous and persecuted brother, till, in a moment of almost desperation, and for fear of involving his brethren and friends, he lays before them a resignation. Before they act upon it it is withdrawn. Still they worry him, till the withdrawal is, by a friend, withdrawn, without, as far as appears, the explicit consent of Dr. McPheeters; and then, eleven to nine, they sunder the holiest of earthly ties! This friend, it seems, had discretionary instructions, and chose what he supposed to be the least of the evils by which the doctor was environed. Thus far all had gone on the supposition that he was prevented from preaching by military authority. But lo! it turns out that a half year before the President had released him from that disability, and that he had been kept out of his pulpit really by the insubordination of the military commander at St. Louis, who had ventured to refuse obedience to the President's order to suspend the sentence, and had retained the sentence in its most offensive aspects, in contravention of the President's order. When it is ascertained that Mr. Lincoln had intended to remove the prohibition to preach, and Dr. McPheeters found himself at liberty to resume his functions as a minister, he did resume them, after deliberation and at the request of his Session and the Church. Then the Presbytery come upon him again, at the suit of this Elder, and forbid him to preach. The plea is still disloyalty; although the President had decided that question and was satisfied. Cæsar was satisfied of the man's loyalty, and from the highest chair of power had set him free; but Mr. Strong was not satisfied, and his ministerial brethren in Christ were not satisfied, and he must be banished from his pulpit, from the bosom of a trusting and loving people, and "spotted" and sick sent forth a wanderer—whither? Ah! sir, Dr. Rice has well said, that there is for him no home on earth if this General Assembly sanctions such monstrosities.

The Church had a right, as they had not been formally declared vacant, to ask him to preach. The Presbytery had not silenced him. By preaching he violated no law of the Church and could not violate any law of the State. Why must this Presbytery pursue him still with the action against which this complaint is now before us?

Sir, what have we lived to see and hear? What had we witnessed in this sacred place and in this venerable General Assembly? Discussions of what? Of the great interests of Christ's kingdom? No, sir; but discussions of State measures—of political questions—compliments of one General, and detractions from another; and these political harangues applauded to the echo in the house of God! Is it seemly, sir? He loved his country dearly—was an *extremist* in his devotion to the maintenance of her Union and her nationality; but he loved Christ's blood-bought Church still more dearly, and deplored to see her courts converted into a political arena. Can we not, as men and as citizens, do our duty to our country, and as Church-members and ministers, do our duty to our Church? Why join together what God has placed asunder? Why allow ourselves to be forced by popular clamor to do things as members of this Assembly that might be very proper for us to do as members of a political convention, but which are out of place here? It requires moral courage, but we are the men who ought to have it. Christ never decided questions of a purely political character, although often urged to do it. When asked, is it lawful to give tribute to Cæsar? his answer was, "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's." But did he go into detail, and decide *what were* the things to be rendered to Cæsar? That was the thing his enemies wanted him to do, yet that was the *very* thing that he refused to do. He repeatedly declared that his kingdom is not of this world, else would his servants fight; and when asked to decide a question of inheritance, he refused to do so—"Who made me a divider!" He stood cautiously aloof from local and political questions, and contented himself with laying down those *general principles* which are to control all the issues of life. We are safe in imitating his example. The union of the State and the Church has, in all ages, under all religions and forms of government, and in all lands, been the prolific fountain of the most horrible monstrosities known to history, and our fathers wisely aimed to keep them distinctly separate; but we are drifting rapidly in the direction of an indiscriminate mixture of things, sacred and secular.

And, now, let the verdict of this ecclesiastical court be given in the Assembly's own words:

DECISION OF THE ASSEMBLY.

The Assembly does not sustain the complaints, because the proceedings in the Presbytery of St. Louis in this case appear constitutional and regular, and, so far as we can perceive, were judicious, equitable, and for the edification of the Church.

These complainants, both in their language and the necessity of the case, brought the whole proceedings under our review. The question of a dissolution of the pastoral relation between Dr. McPheeters and the Pine Street Church was originally brought in an orderly manner before the Presbytery by a petition from a minority of said Church and a personal tender of resignation by the pastor, and, after all the constitutional steps, taken with care and deliberation, was decided by the Presbytery, acting for the peace and welfare of that Church. That which was called an appeal and complaint to Synod against that action could not so suspend all further proceedings as to prevent the Presbytery from considering and acting upon the continued disturbed state of that congregation; and when at a subsequent stated meeting of that body this subject came before them, they did almost unanimously deem it unadvisable that the late pastor should continue ministerial labors in that congregation against this decision of the Presbytery.

Dr. McPheeters and others have uttered their complaints, which we do not sustain.

The Assembly has patiently listened to the history of this case from the opposite points of view taken, but, in their decision, have strictly confined themselves to the facts on record. The resignation of the pastoral relation and the distracted state of the Chuch seemed plainly to call for the action of the Presbytery, and being on the ground and conversant with all the circumstances and demands of the case, they seem most competent to understand and decide upon what that action should be. The question of a pastor's loyalty to the national government, which seemed to be so largely a disturbing element in the Church, has not been properly before the Assembly, as it was not pronounced upon in any Presbyterial action. They judged it best for the peace and prosperity of that particular Church that the late pastor should retire altogether and cease from his public ministrations to them. And this Assembly could not decide otherwise. And though many members of the Presbytery were absent from that meeting which so decided, this could not invalidate their proceedidgs, as it was a regular and careful meeting of that body. The right and duty of the Presbytery to "order whatever pertains to the spiritual welfare of the Churches under their care," and especially to heal dissensions by seeking to remove the occasion of them, is a distinctive and important feature of our Presbyterian polity. And when the pastor himself so far recognizes the propriety of his withdrawal as to tender to the Presbytery his resignation, it was clearly competent for that body not only to grant his request, but to order, if necessary, that he cease his ministrations to that people, if they believed that by longer continuing to serve them the dissensions would be promoted, the strife become embittered, and the spiritual interests of the Church endangered. And when the Presbytery did at length so interfere, and direct, without pronouncing upon the rumors and side issues which were the occasion of the strife and unhappy condition of the Church, they simply undertook to control the relations of pastor and people for the welfare of the Church, without impeaching by expression the moral character and ministerial standing of that pastor. They only ordered, as a prudential measure, that the resignation, which he voluntarily tendered to them, ought properly and entirely to be carried out, by his ceasing in any way to keep up this unhappy state of things—by ceasing to minister to them as their pastor.

VOTE.

To sustain the appeal	47
To sustain in part	2
Not to sustain	117

That the decision of the Assembly against Dr. McPheeters, in the judgment of history, must ever be pronounced unconstitutional, cruel and unjust, will appear plain from the following considerations:

1. It is not true, as alleged, that the "question of a dissolution of the pastoral relation between Dr. McPheeters and the Pine Street Church was originally brought in an orderly manner before the Presbytery, by a petition from a minority of said Church and a personal tender of resignation by the pastor, and, after all the constitutional stepts, taken with care and deliberation, was decided by the Presbytery, acting for the peace and the welfare of that Church."

The special meeting of St. Louis Presbytery, called to assemble on the 15th of May, 1863, "in order to dissolve the pastoral relation between Dr. McPheeters and the Pine Street Church, omitting even the constitutional condition, if the way be clear," was not convened either at the request of the pastor or a majority of his congregation. Moreover, it was clearly determined upon, in advance of all deliberation, that the pastor should be expelled. To this end Presbytery was summoned, and at a time of much excitement, growing out of the Southern struggle for constitutional liberty, and when martial law was in full force and vigorously enforced, and when it was said on the street that if Dr. McPheeters' friends attended Presbytery they would be arrested. In consequence of this military terror a number went home who intended to participate in the Presbyterial proceedings, while two ministers were actually seized and thrown into prison because of their known sympathies for Dr. McPheeters. This Presbytery, called at the instance of seven persons, only one of whom was a member of the Pine Street Church, convened on the 15th of May, and was composed of only sixteen out of nearly sixty ministers and elders who had a right to sit.

Dr. McPheeters, "under duress," and in order to save his friends, did not ask for a dissolution of the pastoral relation, but "simply put his resignation into the hands of Presbytery." Rev. W. H. Park and Rev. A. D. Madeira were already in jail, and the gentle pastor was horrified at the thought that any act of his should add to this number. Presbytery met, and "Pine Street Church and congregation were cited to appear by their commissioners before another Presbytery to be held on June 3d. In the meantime, Pine Street Church were directed to meet and take action in the premises. Accordingly, the Church did meet, and "*Resolved*, that this meeting do not agree to and protest against the dissolution of the existing relation with the Rev. Dr. Samuel B. McPheeters as pastor of Pine Street Church, and that we request him to withdraw his resignation offered to the St. Louis Presbytery." The recorded vote on this resolution shows 91 in favor to 56 opposed. When Presbytery met on the 3d of June considerable doubt existed as to the "constitutional right at its present session to issue the matters connected with Pine Street Church." Presbytery accordingly adjourned, and a call was immediately issued for a meeting to be held June 23, 1863. After this another meeting of Pine Street Church and congregation was also held, called together by order of Session of said Church.

This meeting, by a large majority, passed a resolution of protest against the dissolution of the pastoral relation. Presbytery, according to its own appointment, met on June 23d, and Dr. McPheeters, urged thereto by his congregation, asked leave to withdraw his resignation, offered under such peculiar circumstances. The request was denied, and Presbytery proceeded to dissolve the pastoral relation.

Here, then, " we have the strange anomaly of the resignation by the pastor, of a denial and rejection of the majority of the congregation from their right to be heard why the resignation should not be accepted, and the reception and hearing of a commissioner from the minority to urge acceptance of the resignation and a dissolution of the pastoral relation; and, strangest of all, an entry on the solemn and sacred records of Presbytery, a High Court of Jesus Christ, " that the request of Pine Street Church be granted and the pastoral relation dissolved," *when no such request had ever been made; on the contrary, a solemn protest against it!* Moreover, " Dr. McPheeters did not have the poor privilege, accorded to the meanest of criminals, to stand before the bar which virtually tried and condemned him; and, in the adoption of the final resolution to dissolve the pastoral relation, out of the eight ministers who voted for it, but two had a pastoral charge, and only eleven ministers and Ruling Elders in all, out of about sixty in full Presbytery, sundered a relation which had existed happily and prosperously for twelve years, and that, too, without allowing either the pastor or the commissioners of the Church to be heard."

It is a humiliating thought to every man who loves Presbyterianism that the Newark Assembly, " with the whole proceedings under their review," should have decided that " the question of a dissolution of the pastoral relation between Dr. McPheeters and the Pine Street Church was originally brought in an orderly manner before the Presbytery by a petition from a minority of said Church and a personal tender of resignation by the pastor, and after all the constitutional steps, taken with care and deliberation, was decided by the Presbytery, acting for the peace and welfare of that Church." Well might Dr. Charles Hodge declare, in referring to the action of this Assembly, "there was consummated an injustice which has few, if any, parallels in the history of our Church."

Still further: the General Assembly sustained the St. Louis Presbytery in its flagrant disregard of that clause in the Discipline which declares that "the necessary operation of an appeal is to suspend all further proceedings on the ground of the sentence appealed from." For the action of Presbytery, at its meeting on the 6th of April, 1864, was taken in the absence of Dr. McPheeters, and at a time when a majority of the members of Presbytery did not and could not attend on account of military orders in force, and after an appeal before Synod was docketed for hearing. Nor can it be pleaded as an excuse that Presbytery has at all times a right "to order whatever pertains to the spiritual welfare of the Churches under their care," since all ecclesiastical bodies are bound always to be governed by the special rules prescribed for their direction. When, therefore, the General Assembly declares the St. Louis Presbytery that committed these outrages to be a "regular and careful meeting of that body," the only care and regularity that can be detected by an impartial mind is the arrest and the imprisonment of Parks and Madeira, whilst threats were held over all in case they refused to expel Dr. McPheeters from his charge.

In addition to this, one is absolutely amazed when it is stated in the decision of the Assembly "that the question of the pastor's loyalty to the National Government, which seemed to be so largely a disturbing element in the Church, has not been properly before the Assembly, as it was not pronounced upon in any Presbytery." Drs. Rice, Junkin, Musgrave, Schenck, all asserted on the floor of the Assembly, in Newark, that "disloyalty" constituted the very gist of the accusation against McPheeters. This one count in the declaration was reiterated throughout every stage of the prosecution, from the lowest court to the highest. The foulest tongue that ever whispered calumny never breathed an insinuation against the spotless character of the Pine street pastor aside from this oft-repeated charge. Because Dr. McPheeters refused to subscribe to a political oath and in other ways mingle the religion of Jesus Christ with the affairs of Cæsar as a *condition* to membership in a Presbytery, his pastoral relationship to Pine Street Church was dissolved at the point of the bayonet. Rev. James A. Paige, the Stated Clerk and a "loyal man," when reproached for this wickedness replied, "We had to do that, for we felt we were weak." And once again, Rev. S. J. P. Anderson, D. D., testifies that even the celebrated Rosecrans oath was inaugurated not by the military, but by the instigation of Church authorities. Dr. Anderson says: "It was related to me by a staff officer of that General, and I have it also from another prominent officer in the military service, and I know the fact, that that order was issued under a misapprehension; and I know the fact that when it was ascertained in the Church that that order could be used for a purpose to be accomplished in the Church, that it was seized upon by certain individuals; that they went to the military authorities and induced them to send their officers to the meetings of the Churches. And, sir, I will say this: that instead of its having been a fight with them, I have always received from those gentlemen when I have been before them—and, sir, I am no stranger to any one of them—the utmost courtesy and consideration. The trouble has not come from the authorities—from the civil authorities; nobody thought of that, because in every instance where the civil authorities could reach the case a remedy has been promptly applied. You know that and I know it. But the trouble has been from the Church; those men in it—Ministers and Ruling Elders—who, finding a military order could be used to accomplish a purpose, invoked military action as a means of accomplishing their end."

All the foregoing facts were notorious and they have never been disputed by any one. The Newark Assembly can not plead ignorance, because they profess to have listened patiently to the history of Dr. McPheeters' case "from the opposite points of view taken," and because "the proceedings of St. Louis Presbytery and the records of the Missouri Synod were in their hands for review and approval, or for correction." The Assembly came to the decision of this case with an open eye, and when, therefore, to use the language of Dr. N. L. Rice, "it sanctioned such monstrosities" it meant, in Dr. Junkin's words, "to banish Dr. McPheeters from the bosom of a trusting and loving people, and, spotted and sick, send him forth a wanderer."

The decision of the Assembly is rendered, and that "confessedly gifted, godly and faithful man" prepares to depart. His slender figure moves weariedly, though with firm and gentle step, down the aisle. Though aspersed and pursued there abides no vestige of anger, no sign of outward despair on the features, but with the sweet, holy calm of a martyr, he walks bravely forward as if, amid the furnace fires, he saw a form "like unto the Son of God." And the man that goes forth there not knowing, as respects his fellow-men, whither he goes, "sick," "suffering," "banished" and "sent forth a wanderer," is one who, when "the history ot the struggles for religious liberty and the rights of conscience in this land is fairly written, will occupy a position on the roll of its honored champions which the best of us may envy."

Having entered his chamber and committed all to the Master, Dr. McPheeters penned the following lines to his wife, dated New York, June 4, 1864: "You have seen what the Assembly did. It was painful for me to see a court of the Church of Christ do as this one has done. They allowed political prejudices to come in and determine their votes, and they allowed Strong to attack me with his usual weapons of detraction and insinuation. My dear wife, there is one comfort in all this—the Lord Jesus Christ knows every thing about this whole matter; He knows my sins and infirmities and He knows them to be many; but He knows also how much is false and wicked in the way I have been assailed, and how I have been falsely charged and shamefully treated. I have tried to keep a good conscience. I have tried to do my duty. You must not be cast down. The Lord reigns and He will bring it out right. I have met with warm sympathy here from good men, who in political matters would be counted loyal by the most loyal in St. Louis. They heard Strong, and they judged from his own statements what kind of a man he was.

"My future movements are uncertain and must be left to the development of God's providence. It will depend on a variety of matters, none of which I can now determine. I am staying here now to get my speech printed in pamphlet form, and to look around a little and consult about my future plans. Several things open up to me as possibilities by which I can live and support my family, if I should think it best to leave St. Louis. On one point my mind is fixed—to engage in no calling of a secular kind as long as any way is open for me to preach the gospel. But it must be to preach the gospel—not war-gospel or secession gospel or democratic gospel, but Christ's gospel. And the day will yet come when even those who, in blindness and excitement, now condemn me will know that in all these dark times I have kept to that and that alone. . . . .

"I am very tired from the excitement I have been in, but in good health."

A letter of sympathy was written by Dr. H. A. Boardman, of Philadelphia, on July 1, 1864:

I could not immediately find time to go over the report of your case as presented in the religious papers. Nor have I leisure now to comment on the subject in detail. But I can not refrain from expressing to you my sense of the injustice with which you have been treated. Unwittingly, as I believe, our Assembly has succumbed to the passions of the hour and rendered to Cæsar the things which are God's. The wrong done to you is very great, but is small in comparison with the injury inflicted upon the Church.

My own convictions as to the essential wickedness of the rebellion, and the duty of suppressing it, are, as they have always been, very strong. But the spiritual independence of the Church of Christ, of the Church as a whole, and of each and every branch of it, must be maintained at *all* hazards and at whatever sacrifice. The intolerance of the day in striking at *you* has aimed a deadly blow at this vital principle. I can not and do not believe that our Church will give her *deliberate* sanction to this procedure. For the present, in common with *all* the great denominations, her fastenings give way and she drifts with the freshet. But I trust in the love and faithfulness of her Lord to bring her back to her ancient moorings.

Meanwhile, you may assure yonrself of the true sympathy of very many who love both our Church and country. And, better than this, you will not lack for the love and tenderness of the *Great* Sufferer. Commending you to His care, I remain yours in Christian affection.

After the decision of the Newark Assembly, Dr. McPheeters returned to St. Louis. He did not, however, remain inactive, but went about preaching the Gospel wherever opportunity offered. His words were, "great is the truth, great is patience, and greater yet is God." This was the sentiment which had animated the preacher's heart from the very first day when he entered the sacred office. And it is the principle by which every true minister of the New Testament should ever be actuated, for if the race were always begun and prosecuted in this spirit what untold perplexity might be happily escaped. With the young clergyman especially there is great danger from insidious ambition. Under the pretense of more extended usefulness the soul is cheated. McPheeters, in the start, struck a blow at this adversary. Though gifted and admired, he determines to make full proof of his ministry among the neglected and poor. He did not stand idle in the market place and refuse to enter the vineyard until persuaded to do so by honor and ease. Just before him were fields, lowly, indeed, but "already white to harvest." The laborer looked upon these, and, sickle in hand, went forth to reap. Nor must it be matter of wonder to any that he who submits to obscurity and hardship in the beginning is afterward advanced to station and renown. For has it not been a custom from of old to invite the humble, but deserving, to positions more distinguished than modesty had chosen, while they whose presumption sought out "the chief rooms" are ordered to seats correspondent to their deserts. Of course, there is no promise to the most favored that tribulation shall not come, for trials are health-giving and indispensable. The nest of the eagle must be stirred; yet when a cloud, however wild, intervenes between the eye of faith and the Sun of Righteousness, this does not betoken wrath or even disapprobation, but from that darkness which surrounds and overshadows the soul shall be distilled, in due time, the pure and sweet waters of life. If the vision tarry, the believer must wait for it. In the meantime he can sing:

Though dark be my way, since He is my guide,
'Tis mine to obey, 'tis His to provide.
Though cisterns be broken, and creatures all fail,
The word He has spoken shall surely prevail.

Dr. McPheeters was persecuted, and even betrayed, by his professed friends, yet, because he trusted in Jehovah and stayed his mind on Him, his soul was kept in perfect peace. This man's life, and what God wrought through His servant, speaks to the whole Church, but especially to young brethren in the ministry, saying: "Be careful for nothing, but in every thing by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving let your requests be made known unto God." Wait not to be appareled in soft garments, to live delicately in king's courts, "but in the morning sow thy seed, and in the evening withhold not thine hand, and whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might." Nor need one fear, if honest, to go forth at the charges of the Almighty, for the soul that ventures itself fairly and fully upon Him shall never be forsaken nor confounded. What the Church needs at the present moment is not simply an increase in the number of her ministers, but laborers of that lofty and devoted type that are willing to imitate the spirit of the Apostle, who "strived to preach the Gospel, not where Christ was named, lest he should build upon another man's foundation, but as it is written, to whom He was not spoken they shall see, and they that have not heard shall understand."

Dr. McPheeters wrote to his wife from New York: "My future movements must be left to the development of God's providence. On one point my mind is fixed, to engage in no calling of a secular kind as long as any way is open for me to preach the Gospel." Such a faith and purpose were not long disappointed or long kept in suspense.

In the spring of 1865 Dr. McPheeters removed to Mulberry Church, Shelby county, Kentucky. Dr. S. R. Wilson, the former pastor of this congregation, having accepted a call to the First Church, Louisville, remarks: "It was a relief and a pleasure to resign my flock into the hands of one so eminently fitted for the post, especially at that crisis in the affairs of the Church in Kentucky. When the revolutionary acts of the General Assembly forced upon the true sons of the Church the necessity of endeavoring to recall her members to her standards, the counsel and co-operation of Dr. McPheeters were given with a most hearty good will and unwavering firmness. He was one of the first to put his signature to the Declaration and Testimony, and would at any time have sealed that testimony with his blood had God seen fit to permit the enemies of the truth to use at will the civil sword as they had the ecclesiastical. We have often, in conversation, gone over the whole ground of that protest, and always did he seem to come to a stronger conviction of its necessity, and mournfully would he speak of the ominous persistence of the great body of the ministry in adhering to so open and manifest apostasy from the vital principles of the Word of God and the Constitution of the Church."

On the other hand, Dr. McPheeters observed frequently that it was a notable Providence which brought him weary and sick to this quiet country home, when the bold-hearted Wilson, endued with strength, had just been summoned to a central and prominent position, where the assaults upon truth could be more effectually resisted.

CHAPTER XVI.

PITTSBURG ASSEMBLY—DECLARATION AND TESTIMONY.

In May, 1865, the Assembly met in Pittsburg. The South had been conquered. The whole country lay helpless at the feet of a victorious army. Scarcely an individual, from the Potomac to the Gulf, could be found who did not, in some form, suffer. On account of hunger, nakedness and frightful poverty, "no heart was left in the people." "In that day there was great mourning; all the families that remained mourned apart." The writer speaks from personal knowledge and experience. It was in this great crisis of history that a Court of the Lord Jesus came together at Pittsburg. Never in the history of Presbyterianism—seldom, if ever, in the history of the whole Church—has there been presented an opportunity so grand for the exercise of genuine Christian heroism. The Church at the South, "stripped of her raiment, and wounded, and half dead, appealed mutely to the passer-by that he would bind up her wounds, pour in oil and wine, set her on his own beast, bring her to an inn and take care of her." In this dreadful moment mankind, humanity itself, expected the Assembly of the North to be gentle, magnanimous, just. And if, in that hour, the Pittsburg Court had risen to the hight of the great argument, the records of Presbyterianism in this land might have been forever changed. But alas, alas, alas! the paper on the state of the country this year expatiates upon "the inextinguishable love for our national Union with which the hearts of the loyal people were filled;" upon "the mighty host of valiant men who were ready to give their lives in defense of our National Government;" upon the "various departments of that Government which equipped and maintained our vast army and navy;" upon the "leaders, of wisdom, courage and skill, suited for every emergency;" upon the "unwonted benevolence which promoted the physical comfort and spiritual welfare of our soldiers and sailors." It canonizes Mr. Lincoln, but "rejoices that he was permitted to see the power of the rebellion crushed, its strongholds repossessed, its conquered armies forced to surrender, the national honor, untarnished by acts of barbarism or cruelty, vindicated;" "the integrity of the Union preserved, the scheme of emancipation, which he had the wisdom to devise and the courage to execute, made effective to the deliverance from bondage of four millions of slaves."

So much for President Lincoln, war, politics and the recently liberated negro. But when Rev. R. P. Farris, D. D., of St. Charles, Mo., came before the Assembly to claim redress for grievous outrages inflicted by Gen. Rosecrans and the Missouri Synod, the judicatory were in no humor to entertain the complaint, but thought "great allowance should be made." Dr. S. R. Wilson and others protested, but the Assembly replied that they "were not called upon to decide anything in regard to the propriety or impropriety of the military order referred to in the protest." Cæsar framed an oath, and held for a criminal every ambassador of "King Jesus" who refused to take it as an indispensable *qualification* to a seat in Christ's Court. If any drew back for conscience sake, the doors of Presbytery and Synod were barred. The Northern Assembly winked at this great wrong and said, "great allowance should be made." The oath was as follows:

(—— of —— County, State ——, do hereby solemnly swear that I will bear true allegiance to the United States and support and sustain the Constitution and laws thereof; that I will maintain the National Sovereignty paramount to that of all State, County or Confederate powers; that I will discountenance, discourage and forever oppose secession, rebellion, and the disintegration of the Federal Union; that I disclaim and denounce all faith and fellowship with the so-called Confederate armies, and pledge my honor, my property, and my life, to the sacred performance of this my solemn oath of allegiance to the Government of the United States of America).

"Christian men, who loved the truth, were now aghast at the peril which confronted the Church of God. They had mourned in secret over her sad declension, cherishing, perhaps, the hope, that when the extraordinary pressure of the war should cease, then the Church would return, under the instincts of piety, to the old paths in which she had been accustomed to walk. What was their dismay when, in the first hour of peace, these aberrations were not only endorsed, but fastened upon the Church as the fixed policy to which her future legislation must be rigidly conformed. The exigency of the hour called for measures of unusual vigor, if the Church was to be plucked from the abyss into which she had already plunged. A solemn Declaration and Testimony was accordingly drawn up, by Rev. Samuel R. Wilson, D. D., against the entire political action of the five Assemblies, from 1861 to 1865, inclusive. This Declaration was numerously signed, particularly in the Synods of Kentucky and Missouri, and was largely circulated through the bounds of the Old School Church of the North. It was also formerly adopted by the Presbytery of Louisville, on the 2d of September, 1865, and became a solemn covenant by which all the signers pledged themselves to each other to "use their best endeavors to bring back the Church of their fathers to her ancient purity and integrity, and, if finally compelled to withdraw from those who have departed from the truth, to go bearing with them the true Presbyterian Church, with her doctrine, order, worship and freedom, as they have been given her by her Divine Head and transmitted, from generation to generation, by the hands of saints, confessors and martyrs."

As late as 1862 a Presbyter could quietly dissent from the acts of the Assembly and yet be allowed to pursue his ministerial avocations, free from interruption and intolerant persecution. He was not required, under penalty of arrest and excommunication, to accept the doctrines of "freedom and loyalty" and to lend himself to the execution of ecclesiastical devices, which judgment, unbiased by fanatical zeal, could not honestly approve. While matters remained in this position, Dr. McPheeters (and many others adopted the sentiment) said, in the Assembly that met at Columbus, Ohio, "the Church, as such, owes its allegiance only to Jesus Christ. His kingdom is the only kingdom she is bound to uphold. His Word is the only Constitution that she recognizes as authoritative or is at liberty to interpret. The Constitution of the State binds the citizen. The citizen by becoming a Christian comes into no new relations to the State. If you shall pass this paper I shall stand in my lot and do my duty. Your doing what I believe to be wrong will not justify me in doing wrong. For one, I have already stood for a year under a deliverance which, in my conscience, I believe to be ecclesiastically wrong. If you pass this paper I will try to make the best of it. So long as you do not require me to do or say anything which, in the sight of God, I believe to be wrong, and do not hinder doing or saying anything I believe to be right, as I do not think you intend to do such a thing, I expect to remain true to all my duties to the Church."

These words were uttered in 1862; but in 1865 the aspect of affairs had changed. In the meantime the Assembly had taken wonderful strides. Every minister was now required not only to accept the offensive and unscriptural deliverance, but to co-operate actively in the execution of every doctrinal and ecclesiastical decree. No option remained. One must either go forward with the multitude or else, pausing at the voice of conscience, protest before the world, while the issues of the conflict were confided to that God whose judgments are impartial and whose purposes shall stand. And, still further, let it be remembered that Dr. Wilson, the author of the Declaration and Testimony, was neither a Southerner by birth nor a Secessionist in sentiment. His home was in the North, and his loyalty to the Government never, any where, came into question. He regarded with sorrow the disruption of the Union, and with no ordinary desire longed and prayed for the integrity of that Church under whose sheltering wing he and his fathers before him had dwelt in such comfort. If history, therefore, at this point is properly considered, it will be clearly perceived that neither the author of the Declaration and Testimony nor those who sympathized with his views were peace-breakers or schismatics; but, impelled by the irresistible logic of conscience, they sought not simply "to render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, but also unto God the things which are God's."

Dr. McPheeters not only signed the "Declaration and Testimony," but wrote to Dr. Wilson: "I regard the paper, as a whole, as a most able and masterly document—one that, without flattery, I think will rank among *the papers* which will make a name and place in history. I could easily fill a sheet with what I conceive to be its excellencies—vigorous, manly, true, and the utterances of a soul fully alive to the great principles involved, it will strike a chord in every heart that feels as we do for the desolations of our Zion."

Drs. Wilson, Robinson and McPheeters labored shoulder to shoulder to preserve Presbyterianism in its purity as it came down to the people from the fathers. These three, and others of like mind, feeling that a necessity was laid upon them and a dispensation committed unto them, defended, in troublous times, those principles which are vitally essential to the independence and spirituality of that "Church of God which is the pillar and ground of the truth." The doctrines for which these men contended are embodied in a "Declaration and Testimony" drawn by Rev. S. R. Wilson, D. D., and numerously signed by Ministers and Elders in the Synods of Kentucky and Missouri. The document is here given:

To the Ministers, Ruling Elders and Members of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, Greeting:

"GRACE BE UNTO YOU, AND PEACE FROM GOD OUR FATHER, AND FROM THE LORD JESUS CHRIST."

BELOVED BRETHREN: The occasion upon which we address you is one of no ordinary interest to the Church of our Lord Jesus. For several years past that Church in this country has been departing farther and farther from both the spirit and the plain letter of her commission to "preach the Gospel to every creature" and her charter as a "kingdom not of this world." The Presbyterian branch of the Church—that which we stand immediately connected with—for which our fathers labored, suffered and prayed, and whose doctrine and order we have loved above all things else on earth, sadly disappointing our most sanguine hopes, and recreant to her principles and ancient testimonies, has essayed to take the lead in this grievous departure from the faith and practice enjoined by her King and Head and solemnly professed in her confession and catechisms and symbols. Step by step she has gone away from the old paths, despite every warning and entreaty addressed to her by those who have still remained faithful, until we have reason to fear it will be in vain to attempt to bring her back again to the way of truth from which she has departed. From year to year, as the General Assembly has come together, we have cherished still the hope that it would reconsider those acts which have been the occasion of distrust and alarm, and recalling the Church to the true spiritual and divine nature of her calling and work, would restore the ancient landmarks and thus re-assure the hearts of those who have trembled for the safety of the Ark of God. But these hopes have again and again been doomed to disappointment, until, by the decisions of the Supreme Judicatory of the Church, at its recent meeting in Pittsburg, the consummation seems to have been reached, and the seal finally set upon all previous unconstitutional and unscriptural acts of the body, and the full purpose declared to compel our ministers, elders and members to approve of those acts under pain of exclusion from the communion and fellowship of the Church.

Such is the crisis which is now upon us and which we are compelled to meet. There is left to us no alternative; if we would not prove ourselves unworthy of the trust which has been committed to our hands by our Divine Master, handed down from our fathers, baptized with their tears and prayers and blood. Fidelity in our lot requires that we should give utterance to no equivocal testimony and hesitate in no uncertain posture at such a moment. To remain silent or stand inactive must alike be fatal to ourselves and to the Church. To suffer ourselves to be cajoled by "good words and fair speeches," or intimidated by threats into acquiescence in, or a feeble, compromising opposition to, the unscriptural doctrines and unconstitutional measures now maintained in the Church, will most assuredly make us partakers in the sin of those who have corrupted and betrayed her. It is, therefore, under a deep conviction of the imperative call made upon us to bear a clear and unequivocal testimony against this departure of the Church from her ancient faith and order that we have drawn up and do now publish to the word this solemn Declaration and Testimony, that so we may acquit ourselves of all complicity with that subversion of the Law of Christ's Kingdom and surrender of the crown rights of Zion's King on account of which the name and honor of our Lord are this day every where blasphemed. If we can do nothing more than clear ourselves from the guilt of so great a crime, we shall have thereby secured ourselves from a participation in its punishment. Yet, by the blessing of God upon our efforts in this behalf, we shall not despair of so rallying the faithful friends of a pure and free Church around the banner which God has given us "to be displayed because of the truth" as to be able to defeat in great measure the schemes of those who seem by their acts to be saying, concerning the beautiful and holy temple of our fathers, "Rase it, rase it, even to the foundation thereof."

THE ERRORS AGAINST WHICH WE TESTIFY.

In the name, therefore, of the living God, the Holy One of Israel, we do solemnly testify:

I. *Against the assumption on the part of the Courts of the Church of the* *right to decide questions of State policy.* This right has been assumed by all the courts of the Church. But we shall here only speak particularly of what has been done by our court of highest judicature. That the General Assembly has claimed and exercised this right of jurisdiction over questions of State policy for the past five years, and that to the fullest extent, certainly no one at all acquainted with the acts of that body can deny. We cite in proof only the so-called "Spring Resolutions" of '61; the papers on the state of the country in '62 and '63; the act on the subject of slavery in '64, and the ordinances on "loyalty" and "the Southern Churches" in '65. The discussion of these several acts occupied a very large part of the time and absorbed nearly the whole attention of the respective Assemblies by which they were passed. In all of them the substantial questions at issue, and about which the Assembly gave its decision, were questions touching the policy of the State in regard to its citizens and the duty of the citizens in respect to the policy of the State. Concerning the first of these acts, namely, that entitled the "Spring Resolutions," the following judgment was expressed in a protest against the passage of those resolutions, drawn up by Rev. Dr. Hodge and signed by about sixty others. Let their language be attended to: "*That the paper adopted by the General Assembly does decide the political question just stated* (viz.: 'To what government the allegiance of Presbyterians as citizens is due') *is, in our judgment, undeniable.* It asserts not only the loyalty of this body to the Constitution and the Union, but it promises, in the name of all the Churches and ministers whom it represents, to do all that in them lies to strengthen, uphold and encourage the Federal Government. It is, however, a notorious fact that many of our ministers and members conscientiously believe that the allegiance of the citizens of this country is primarily due to the States to which they respectively belong, and, therefore, that when a State renounces its connection with the United States and its allegiance to the Constitution the citizens of that State are bound by the laws of God to continue loyal to their State and obedient to its laws. The paper adopted by the Assembly virtually declares, on the other hand, that the allegiance of the citizen is due to the United States, anything in the Constitution, ordinances or laws of the several States to the contrary notwithstanding. . . . In adopting this paper, therefore, the Assembly *does decide the great political question* which agitates and divides the country. . . . *It is not a question which this Assembly has a right to decide.*"

"A man may conscientiously believe that he owes allegiance to one Government or another, and yet possess all the qualifications which the Word of God or the standards of the Church authorizes us to demand in our members or ministers." . . . .

"It is the allegiance of the Old School Presbyterian Church to the Constitution, the Union and the Federal Government which this paper is intended to profess and proclaim. It does, therefore, of necessity decide the political questions which agitate the country. It pronounces or assumes a particular interpretation of the Constitution. *This is a matter clearly beyond the jurisdiction of the Assembly.*

"That the action of the Assembly in the premises does *not only decide the political question referred to*, but makes that decision *a test of membership in our Church, is no less clear.*" . . . .

"The General Assembly, in thus deciding a political question, and in making that decision practically a condition of membership in the Church, has, in our judgment, *violated the Constitution of the Church and usurped the prerogatives of its Divine Master.*"—[Minutes 1861, pp. 339, 340.]

In answering this protest the Assembly does not deny, but admits, the allegations contained in it, and argues in defense of the *right* of the Assembly to make the decisions objected to. The action of subsequent Assemblies has still further asserted and exercised this usurped power, until the highest Court of the Church, once so venerated for its apostolic character, has become transformed, in the eye of the world, into a political convention, the chief occupation of which is to debate and determine matters of a partisan political character, and to anathematize all who claim the right of private judgment on such matters.

II. We testify against the doctrine *that the Church, as such, owes allegiance to human rulers or governments.* Allegiance or loyalty, in respect to human governments, is alone predicable of *persons* as citizens. The Church owes her allegiance alone to Jesus Christ, who is sole King in Zion. To no earthly power can she yield submission without being unfaithful to her Lord and Husband, and being guilty of that spiritual harlotry on account of which the most fearful plagues are denounced against her in the Prophets.

III. We testify against the sanction given by the Church to the perversion of the teachings of Christ and His Apostles upon *the subject of the duty of Christians, as citizens, to "render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," and to "be subject unto the higher powers."* These and similar scriptures are cited to sustain the claim of the Assembly and other Church Courts to decide upon political questions; to prove that the allegiance of a Christian, as such, is due to a particular government; to warrant the exclusion of a minister from his office, or a member from his Church privileges, because he does not believe his allegiance is due to this or that particular administration, or that he is bound to obey every decree or law of the government under which he may chance to live; and to bind the citizen, as a Christian, by the law of Christ, "*to uphold, strengthen and encourage* a particular form of government, or a present administration of that government, or the acting ruler by whom it may chance to be administered, in antagonism to other existing governments or rulers, as though the one were of Divine right rather than the others; and as if such particular government or administration or ruler were so "the ordinance of God" and "ordained" of Him as to make it, for that reason, obligatory upon the Christian, as such, "as far as in him lies, to promote and perpetuate" its existence and power, and to sustain and pray for the success of whatever measures it may see fit from time to time to adopt for the accomplishment of its particular ends, or to give effect to its peculiar schemes at home or abroad. We deny that these Scriptures or any others, when fairly interpreted, give any sanction to the doctrines just stated. These doctrines are contrary to the teachings of the Word of God, and are virtually the doctrines of despotism and unquestioning, unconditional submission and obedience to the commands of any actual ruler, no matter what those commands may be. This is to make Christianity the tool of tyrants and its teachings the bulwark of unlimited arbitrary power.

IV. We testify against the action of the Assembly *on the subject of slavery and emancipation in* 1864, *and as confirmed in* 1865. In that action the Assembly has laid itself justly liable to the charge of disingenuousness, in that it does not quote fairly from former utterances upon the same subject. It omits altogether all reference to the uniform and most important declaration contained in its previous expressions of opinion, that *immediate, indiscriminate emancipation of the negro slaves amongst us would be unjust and injurious* to both master and slave. And then it leaves entirely unnoticed the act of 1845 and treats it as a nullity, although precisely the one only act ever passed by an Assembly which is sustained and enforced by an appeal to the only authority which the Church has any right to appeal for the support and sanction of her decisions, to-wit: the Word of God. And then, upon this basis of suppression and perversion, there is laid down a new doctrine upon this subject of slavery unknown to the apostolic and primitive Church; a doctrine which has its origin in infidelity and fanaticism; a doctrine which the Presbyterian Church had before uniformly treated as a dangerous error, and which the General Assembly of 1845 solemnly declared they could not sanction "*without contradicting some of the plainest declarations of the Word of God*," and "charging the Apostles of Christ with conniving at sin, introducing into the Church such sinners, and thus bringing upon them the curse of the Almighty." And, further, that Assembly declared that, should they affirm the doctrine which the Assembly in 1864 did affirm, it would be "*to dissolve itself*" and "*abandon the organization under which, by the Divine blessing, it has so long prospered.*" Nor has the Assembly been content with merely affirming these new doctrines upon slavery and emancipation, but has required *a cordial belief and approbation* of them as a condition of membership to the Church and of the exercise of their official functions to the ministry. (Acts of the Assembly of 1865, passim.)

V. We testify against the *unjust and scandalous contradiction* of their own recorded testimony and the well known facts in regard to the labors of the Presbyterian Church and ministry *for the Christianizing of the slaves of the South and the preaching of the Gospel of Christ.* On this subject the Assembly of 1847 speaks thus: "In reviewing the past, we find that notice has been taken by several previous Assemblies of the interest manifested in the religious instruction of the *colored* population of our country. The reports received this year justify the belief that this interest has greatly increased since the meeting of the last Assembly. Almost all the Presbyteries covering the ground where this portion of our population are found in the greatest numbers refer to the subject, and speak of efforts to supply them with the means of grace, as being decidedly on the advance."—[Min. 1847, pages 403, 408.] Again, in 1854, this testimony is borne by the Assembly: "The reports sent to us from the Presbyteries covering the portion of the Church in which there is a large slave population reveal the gratifying fact that the zeal hitherto manifested on behalf of the religious welfare of this class, instead of abating, is evidently growing more ardent and active. In their houses of worship, provision, at once special and liberal, is made for the accommodation of the colored people, so that they may enjoy the privileges of the sanctuary in common with the whites. Besides this, nearly all our ministers hold a service in the afternoon of the Sabbath in which the exercises are particularly adapted to their capacities and wants. In some instances, ministers are engaged in their exclusive service—not ministers of inferior ability, but such as would be an ornament and a blessing to the intelligent, cultivated congregations of the land. In a still larger number of instances, the pastor of a Church composed of the two classes—inasmuch as the blacks form the more numerous portion, devotes to them the greater share of his labors, and finds among them the most pleasing tokens of God's smile upon his work. Besides the preaching of the Word to which they have free access, in many cases a regular system of catechetical instruction, for their benefit, is pursued, either on the Sabbath at the house of worship or during the week on the plantations where they reside. Thus we give thanks unto God, our common Father, *that he has inspired the hearts of our brethren in the parts of our Church referred to, with love to the souls of this numerous race, and that he has opened among them a wide and effectual door of usefulness.*"—[Min. 1854, page 484.]

But, in contradiction of all this, the Assembly now affirm that "the removal of the shackles of bondage" has brought this race "within the reach of missionary effort as objects of Christian benevolence." They rejoice in the fact that God has, in the midst of the desolation of so much of our country, "opened a way for the instruction and elevation of this long degraded people; that the slaves are "inspired with the fact that they are now called by God to conquer for their people a position among the races of mankind." It is affirmed that in their condition of servitude they were degraded and brutalized; that their masters were also brutalized—slavery being the cause of rebellion and cruelty, and the natural root of assassination and murder; that whilst in a state of servitude they were deprived of the means of becoming acquainted with the Christian religion, and that the Presbyterian Church could not heretofore carry to them a pure gospel. —[Min. of Assembly, 1864-'65—Reports of Freedmen's Committee to the General Assembly.]

VI. We testify against the doctrine widely taught in the Church, and even countenanced by the Assembly, that the acts and deliverances of the Courts of Christ's Commonwealth may properly be based upon and shaped in accordance with the ordinances and laws of State Legislatures, the orders and proclamations of military chieftains, and even the results of popular votes given at the elections. That before a Court of Christ ought to take action upon important questions brought before them, it is right and fitting they should inquire "what the Cabinet at Washington may wish them to do," and ascertain what effect their action may be likely to have upon the mind of the President and the Army, or upon the price of Government stocks abroad.—[Assemblies of '61 and 64.]

VII. We testify against the doctrine that the will of God as to the duty of the Church and of his people is to be learned from *particular providential events, and that the teachings of the Scripture are to be interpreted by these Providences.* Thus the Word of God is subjected to the mere caprice of a man's own fancy, and its supreme authority as the only infallible rule of faith and duty is subordinated to the blind and ever-erring interpretations which may be put upon certain isolated occurrences, by human ignorance, passion, pride, prejudices, superstition and selfishness. And the more false and subversive of the divinely-given foundations of faith and duty does this doctrine become, when amongst the *special providences* from which the will of God is to be learned are enumerated by the Assembly such as these: "The organization of a bloody rebellion;" "the proclamations of the highest Executive authority;" "*the declared policy of the President*" concerning certain measures of doubtful result and over which he himself has only partial control; the "enlisting of slaves as soldiers in the National armies," and "the setting on foot of measures of emancipation in the loyal States, which measures are near their consummation." A more total abandonment of God's Written Word, for the uncertain light of dark and mysterious and yet undeveloped providences, and these to be expounded by men, it may be, "having their understandings darkened," and, for "not obeying the truth," perchance "given up to believe a lie," can scarcely be conceived of. As well go back to the simpler superstitions of the Greek and Roman priesthood, and regard the flight of the vulture or the cackling of a goose as indications of the will of God. For these are not less providential events than the marshaling of negro soldiers or the declared policy of the highest executive authorities. "Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father."

VIII. We testify against the sanction which has been given, both directly and indirectly, to *the usurpation, by the secular and military power, of authority in and over the worship and government of the Church.* This usurpation has been sanctioned by Sessions, Presbyteries, Synods and the General Assembly, *directly*, by various acts, which are fully known to the world—as, for example, in the case of the Pine Street Church and Dr. McPheeters, of St. Louis, in 1863–64, and in the case of the St. Charles Church and Messrs. Farris and Watson, in 1864–65. By the endorsement, in word and act, of such usurpation as perfectly right by the Seminaries at Princeton and Danville, as witness the doctrine laid down by the Princeton Professor of Theology, and the doctrine and practice of the Danville Professor in the same department. *Indirectly*, this usurpation of the kingly rights of Jesus Christ in his own Kingdom has been sanctioned by the persistent neglect and refusal of the Assembly, and almost all other Church courts, as also the seminaries and pulpit, to condemn such usurpation, or to assert in any way the rights and liberties of God's people in all things pertaining to the worship and government of His house.

IX. We testify against that *alliance which has been virtually formed by the Church with the State;* by which the State has been encouraged, and even invited, to use the Church as an instrument for giving effect to its various schemes of a political character. And, on the other hand, the Church has become a subordinate agent, to enforce, with ecclesiastical pains and penalties, the demands of the State. This alliance and subordination are shown in the clearest manner in the appointing and enforced observance by the secular power of days of Fasting and Thanksgiving; in the attempt, in various ways, to prescribe what shall be and what shall not be "said and sung" in the prayers and hymns and sermons upon those days, as also on the Sabbath; in the issuance of orders directed to certain ministers and committees, and accepted by them, giving them authority to preach the gospel in certain places, and to take possession of churches, to the exclusion of other ministers and their congregations; in the setting up and prescribing, as tests of ministerial standing and membership in the Church, certain political dogmas, and these, too, necessarily of a purely partisan character—so that no man may preach the gospel, or enjoy the fellowship of the sanctuary unless he can say he holds these dogmas and renonnces, *ex animo*, as sin and heresy, the contrary opinions.

X. We testify against that *persecution* which has been carried on for these last five years past, and with increasing malignity, toward all those who have steadfastly refused to sanction or acquiese in these departures of the Church from the foundations of truth and righteousness. This spirit of persecution seems to have broken over all bounds in the late meeting of the Assembly. The testimony of one of its most influential members—one, too, who acted in perfect harmony with the great mass of that body—is, that "He had been in many political conventions, yet he must say he had never any where seen such relentless persecution as is manifested by this General Assembly."* This testimony is true. The deliberate and avowed purpose of that body, as its several acts most unequivocally show, was to distract and destroy churches all over the land (but especially in the Southern and

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* *Hon. Judge Ewing.*

Border States), who do not and will not submit to the unconstitutional acts and unscriptural doctrines put forth by the Assembly during the past five years. Every minister is to be ostracised and driven away, and every congregation to be scattered that will not subscribe the new tests. Schools, Seminaries, Church edifices and Manses are to be seized and appropriated to the use of those who are willing to become heralds of this new evangel of "freedom and loyalty," who think that gain is godliness, and who appear fully prepared to lead on the Dragonnades of another crusade, in the name of God and the State, against Christian women and children, whom they have first branded as rebels. Thus the persecution which began in 1861, when the Assembly "violated the Constitution of the Church, and usurped the prerogative of its Divine Master" by "action . . *unjust and cruel* in its bearing on our Southern brethren"—(Dr. Hodge); which was carried out more fully in '64 when the Assembly cast Dr. McPheeters "out of the Synagogue;" was consummated in 1865 when the Assembly virtually excommunicated the whole Southern Presbyterian Church, and in effect ordained that they should be treated as heathen and outcasts. And as in all former times, so now this persecution is sought to be justified by false statements and misrepresentations, and is carried on under professed zeal for the glory of God, abhorrence of the wickedness of those against whom it is aimed, and a most profound and unselfish regard for the rights and prerogatives of Cæsar.

XI. We testify against the wide-spread and destructive *perversion of the commission of the ministry and the province of Church Courts.* The commission of the Christian ministry is plain and simple. To preach the gospel; to persuade men to be reconciled to God; to teach all things whatsoever Christ has commanded. As Heralds and Ambassadors, they are required to confine themselves within the exact limits of their commission. They are to know no man after the flesh. With them, in the discharge of their ministerial functions, there is to be no difference between Jew and Greek, Barbarian, Scythian, bond or free. As *ministers* they owe and can hold allegiance to no human government, nor can they give their influence to the support of any without violating their commission. They are to know nothing in the pulpit but Christ and him crucified; neither North nor South; neither Secessionist nor Unionist; neither Loyalist nor Rebel; neither Whig nor Tory; neither Republican nor Democrat. And so of Church Courts. Their authority is only ministerial and declarative. It is spiritual. It has nothing to do with matters which do belong unto the civil magistrate. These courts can only speak when Christ has spoken, and declare what he has said. Anything beyond this is USURPATION, and of no binding force.

Yet how entirely the ministry has ceased to execute their commission; and to how great an extent the ecclesiastical courts have transcended their jurisdiction, is so notorious that both have become a by-word and reproach amongst unbelievers. Topics of a secular and political character are ordinary and favorite themes of the pulpit. Ministers are become the fiercest of political partisans, and cry loudest for blood. And even the mercy seat is profaned by the outpourings of hatred and revenge by those who alike profess to be sinners, saved by grace, children of the same heavenly family and subjects of one Prince of Peace. When Church courts meet, it is to pass resolutions and listen to harangues, "to strengthen and encourage the Government," and to "fire the popular heart" with patriotism. The house of God, the pillar and ground of the Truth as it is in Jesus, designed to be "a house of prayer *for all people*," has thus, to an alarming extent, become transformed into a mere earthly forum, where the spirit of this world usurps the seat of the Spirit of truth and mercy and love.

XII. We testify against the action of the Assembly in reference to the Churches in the seceded and border States, and against the basing of that action upon an assertion of what the Assembly had the clearest evidence was not true.

The Assembly affirm that the "General Assembly of the Confederate States was *organized* in order to render their aid in the attempt to establish, by means of the rebellion, *a separate national existence*, and to *conserve and perpetuate the system of slavery*." [Min. of General Assembly 1865, p. 560.] And it is upon the assumption of the truth of this assertion that the whole action of the Assembly touching the Southern Presbyterians, ministers and Churches is founded. Yet the evidence was distinctly and repeatedly brought before that body, both by oral testimony and public documents, that the assertion was *contrary to fact*. That, so far from this, the Assembly of the so-called Confederate States, in the most solemn and explicit manner, *denied* and *disavowed* any such objects in their organization, and assigned other reasons for their action—reasons having their origin in the enactments of the General Assembly itself touching those political questions which had agitated and divided the country. "The first thing," says that Assembly, "which roused our Presbyteries to look the question of separation seriously in the face was the course of the Assembly in venturing to determine, *as a Court of Jesus Christ,* which it did by necessary implication, the true interpretation of the Constitution of the United States as to the kind of Government it intended to form." . . . "We would have it distinctly understood that, in our ecclesiastical capacity, we are neither the friends nor the foes of slavery; that is to say, we have no commission either to propagate or abolish it. We have no right, as a Church, to enjoin it as a duty or to condemn it as a sin. . . . The social, civil and political problems connected with this great subject transcend our sphere, as God has not entrusted to his Church the organization of society, the construction of governments, nor the allotment of individuals to their various stations."*

This ordinance of the Assembly, thus unjust, in that it is founded upon the assertion of what is untrue, is equally unrighteous and inequitable, and contrary to the fundamental principles of the Presbyterian Church, in that it establishes a law concerning ministers and Church members that is to be enforced only in certain localities and upon particular persons. There is no reason nor justice in requiring ministers and members in the Southern and border States to repudiate opinions and feelings in regard to secession, State rights, slavery, &c., &c., whilst ministers and members in the Northern States are allowed to hold unquestioned those same opinions and feelings, or others equally contrary to the new doctrines of the Assembly upon those subjects. Against so gross a violation of that equality in God's house which has always distinguished a pure Presbyteranism we do most earnestly bear our testimony, as a palpable violation of that principle of the Divine law enjoined in both the Old and New Testament: "Thou shalt not respect persons in judgment."

XIII. We testify against that act of the Assembly by which the Board of Domestic Missions (that is, the Executive Committee at Philadelphia, or its Corresponding Secretary) *are constituted a Court of final and superior jurisdiction,* to judge of the orthodoxy of the ministry and the soundness of their views touching the nature of the Government of the United States, the doctrine of State rights, the freedom of the negroes, and the various important questions touching their social and civil *status* now and prospective.

XIV. We testify against all and every movement in the Church, however cautiously or plausibly veiled, which looks to a *union of the State with the*

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*Address of G. A. C. S. to the Churches of Jesus Christ throughout the world.

Church, or a subordination of the one to the other, or the interference of either with the jurisdiction of the other. We testify against any test of a religious character in order to the exercise of the right of citizenship, and against any political test whatever as a qualification for membership in the Church or the exercise of the functions of the Gospel ministry.

REASONS FOR THIS TESTIMONY.

Against each and all these errors in doctrine and practice we testify:

I. Because they are *contrary to the Word of God and subversive of its inspiration and supreme authority* as the only infallible rule of faith and practice.

The Scriptures constantly assert their own completeness, sufficiency, infallibility and supreme authority, as the only rule by which man is to be guided in his belief and duty. The setting up of any other guide or rule is every where condemned, both by prophets and apostles, speaking in the name of God. To add to these complete oracles, or take from them, is pronounced a heinous crime. To pervert, or make void, or handle deceitfully, or shun to declare any part of this written Word, is to expose oneself to the severest punishment. And it is an abomination for any one, but especially for the Church, to leave these living oracles and follow the voice of false prophets, who undertake to tell what is the will of God, by reading the signs of the times and interpreting the meaning of passing events. "To the law and to the testimony, if they speak not according to this Word, it is because there is no light in them." "Who is among you that feareth the Lord, *that obeyeth the voice of His servant*, that walketh in darkness and hath no light? let him trust in the name of the Lord, and stay upon his God. Behold, all ye that kindle a fire, that compass yourselves about with sparks; walk in the light of your fire and in the sparks that ye have kindled. This shall ye have of my hand; ye shall lie down in sorrow." (See also 2 Tim., iii, 16, 17; 2 Peter, i, 16–21.) And our Lord specifically rebuked those in his day who were so ready to interpret the will of God as they supposed it to be made known in particular acts of Providence, when he said to some one who told him of the Galileans, whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices, "Suppose ye that these Galileans were sinners above all the Galileans, because they suffered such things? I tell you, nay; but except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish. Of those eighteen, upon whom the tower in Siloam fell and slew them, think ye that they were sinners above all men that dwelt in Jerusalem? I tell you, nay; but except ye repent ye shall all likewise perish." Whatever the uses to be made of the providential events passing around us, they neither furnish us a rule of duty, nor a key to the interpretation of the written Word, nor a basis of judgment concerning our fellow-men.

II. Because they are contrary to the doctrine of the Presbyterian Church as taught in her Confession, Catechisms and Constitution. On this point a few citations will suffice: "The whole counsel of God, concerning all things necessary for his own glory, man's salvation, faith and life, is either expressly set down in Scripture, or, by good and necessary consequence, may be deducted from Scripture, unto which nothing at any time is to be added, whether by new revelations of the Spirit or traditions of men." "The infallible rule of interpretation of Scripture is the Scripture itself, and, therefore, when there is a question about the true and full sense of any Scripture (which is not manifold, but one) it may be searched and known by other places that speak more clearly.

"The Supreme Judge by whom all controversies of religion are to be determined, and all decrees of councils, opinions of ancient writers, doctrines of men and private spirits are to be examined, and in whose sentence we are to rest, can be no other but the Holy Spirit speaking in the Scripture."—[Conf. Faith, c. ii. secs. 6, 9, 10.]

"There is no other head of the Church but the Lord Jesus Christ." "The Lord Jesus as King and head of his Church, hath therein appointed a government in the hand of Church officers distinct from the civil magistrate." "To these officers the keys of the kingdom of Heaven are committed, by *virtue whereof* they *have power*," &c.—[Conf. Faith, c. xxv. sec. 6.—Also Conf. Faith, c. xxx. secs. 1, 2.]

"For the better government and further edification of the Church, there ought to be such assemblies as are commonly called Synods or Councils; and it belongeth to the overseers and other rulers of the particular Churches, by *virtue of their office and the power which Christ hath given them* for edification, and not for destruction, to appoint such assemblies, *and to convene together in them as often as they shall judge it expedient* for the good of the Church.

"Synods and Councils are to handle or conclude nothing but that which is ecclesiastical, and are not to intermeddle with civil affairs which concern the Commonwealth." [Conf. F., c. xxxi. sec. 1, 4.]

"These assemblies ought not to possess *any civil jurisdiction* nor to inflict any civil penalties. Their power is wholly moral or spiritual, and that only ministerial and declarative.

"Civil magistrates may not assume to themselves the administration of the Word and Sacraments, or the powers of the keys of the kingdom of heaven, or in the least interfere in matters of faith. . . . It is the duty of the civil magistrate to protect the Church of our common Lord . . . in such a manner that all ecclesiastical persons whatever shall enjoy the full, free and unquestioned liberty of discharging every part of their sacred functions without violence or danger. And as Jesus Christ hath appointed a regular government and discipline in his Church, *no law of any Commonwealth should interfere with, let or hinder the due exercise thereof* among the voluntary members of *any* denomination of Christians according to their own profession and belief." [Conf. F., c. xxxi. sec. 3.]

In the Second Book of Discipline of the Scotch Church we find the principles, which are embodied in the later standards, thus briefly and clearly laid down:

"This power ecclesiastical is different and distinct in its own nature from that power and policy which is called the civil power, and appertains to the civil government of the Commonwealth; albeit they be both of God and tend to one end, if they be rightly used, to-wit: to advance the glory of God and to have godly and good subjects.

"For this power ecclesiastical flows immediately from God and the Mediator Jesus Christ, and is spiritual, not having a temporal head on earth, but only Christ, the Spiritual King and Governor of his Kirk. Therefore this power and policy of the Kirk should lean upon the Word immediately, as the only ground thereof, and should be taken from the pure fountains of the Scriptures (the Kirk), hearing the voice of Christ, the only Spiritual King, and being ruled by his laws." [Second Book of Discipline, c. i. secs. 9, 10, 11.]

III. Because they tend to *obliterate all the lines of separation between the civil and ecclesiastical powers*, to confound their jurisdictions, to identify them with each other, and so to destroy the freedom of both. If the Church may adjudicate upon "civil affairs which do concern the Commonwealth," on the pretense that these affairs "rise up into the region of morals," and the State may assume to regulate the worship, teaching and discipline of the Church and control her courts, under the pretense of "maintaining the authority of the Government and preserving the life of the nation," then there is a practical union of Church and State and an end of civil and religious liberty, and the establishment of a meretricious Politico-Ecclesiastical despotism.

To render our views upon this point still clearer, we quote the language of another:

"Nothing in the history of society is more remarkable than the strength of that tendency to confound and identify its civil and religious institutions which has manifested itself in all ages. And yet from the moment that the tribal form of society was superseded by what may be properly called the State, and the Church became visible and separate, nothing would be more illogical and nothing has been more disastrous. . . .

"The Church of Christ, though in the world, is not of it. The kingdoms of this world are exclusively both in it and of it. . . . The State is for things temporal, things local, things visible and transitory. . . . In that spiritual kingdom manifested in the visible Church, and whose true seat is within us, neither time, nor place, nor condition, nor race has any vital significance; nor can flesh and blood inherit it; nor does anything avail but the new creature. Its union with the civil power is the highest aggravation of confounding it with the world, for the State is the highest form in which the world appears. So that neither the visible Church nor the civil power can have any duty, either toward God or itself or each other, more clear and transcendent than that each should confine itself, with respect to the other, to its own obvious sphere, each regarding the other as the ordinance of the common Father and God of both. . . . This spiritual independence of the kingdom of God in this world is a necessity so fundamental that no portion of the visible Church has surrendered it without surrendering in an equal degree the spirit of its Divine vocation. And all corrupt Churches which have sought the closest union with the civil power has done so not in order to submit themselves to the dominion of the State, but rather to subject it to tyranny as relentless as that which they made it the instrument of inflicting. To plead for the freedom of the Church is, therefore, to plead at the same time for the independence of States and for the security of mankind against the cruelties of all false religion. . . .

"The Crown and Kingdom of Jesus Christ appertain to him as exclusively as his cross. He alone is King in Zion, as really as he alone is the Redeemer of Israel. It is precisely in this absolute and exclusive headship of Christ, and the consecration of his Church to him responsive thereto, that the root of her inward freedom lies, just as it is in her entire separation from the world that her outward freedom is grounded and can be manifest."—[Knowledge of God Subjectively Considered, chap. xxii.]

IV. Because they have brought the ministry and the ordinances of religion and the authority of the Church *into public disrepute.* Multitudes who once frequented the Sanctuary, finding the gospel no longer preached there, have ceased to attend. Those who were once listened to with reverence, as they held forth the word of truth as it is in Jesus, are now despised as mere political demagogues who have degraded their calling and become the worst panderers to the passions of the unthinking mob. Our Synods and Assemblies, whose utterances in former years were received with veneration, as coming with the sanction of a Divine warrant, have ceased to command even ordinary respect. Thus, by reason of the grievous departures of the ministry and councils of the Church from the law of their Divine Commission, the way of truth is evil spoken of and the name of God and his doctrine are blasphemed. Infidelity, in all its various and subtle forms, is undermining the faith of not a few who once gloried in the Christian name and esteemed it a privilege to be numbered amongst the children of Presbyterians. Pure Protestantism has been arrested in its growth, and is rapidly losing its power to retard the advance of error and superstition, of rationalism and formalism.

V. Because they tend to *keep up strife and alienation among brethren of a common faith and thus delay the pacification of the country.* Is there one act of the General Assembly for these years that has breathed the spirit of peace and good will? Is there one that has seemed to be actuated by the spirit of brotherly kindness and charity? Alas! which one is not the reverse of all this? Which one that does not bear the impress of bitterness and wrath and anger? Which does not necessarily tend to perpetuate hostility between the alienated sections and parties of the country; to widen instead of healing the breach made by the sword of civil and fratricidal war, and dig a gulf that shall be forever impassible between those whom it is the interest both of the Church and State to unite again in common bonds?

VI. Because they are *schismatical.* Those who invent new doctrtnes; who teach "for doctrines the commandments of men;" who "bring in damnable heresies," are, by the Word of God, adjudged as *schismatics.* It is not those who withdraw from such corrupters of the gospel that are chargeable with the sin of schism, but those who, by their false teaching and scandalous practice, render it necessary for the faithful to separate themselves in order to preserve their garments undefiled. The woe pronounced by our Lord is upon those "by whom offenses come." The flames of consuming judgment, symbolized in the Apocalypse, are to come upon the Apostate Church, not upon those who "come out of her" and renounce her fellowship. The command is to *withdraw* from such as teach "contrary to the doctrine which is according to godliness," that "*servants under the yoke*" should *not* "count their own masters worthy of all honor" nor do them service.—[1 Tim. vi. 1–5.] It is plain that in the course taken by the Assembly, against which we testify, that body has given occasion of offense, and been the guilty author of a grievous schism in the Church. It was on account of some of those unconstitutional and unscriptural, those "unjust and cruel" decrees of which we have spoken, that the Southern Presbyteries and Synods felt constrained to withdraw from their ancient and cherished connection. It is the adherence to all these unscriptural doctrines and ordinances, and the declared purpose of enforcing them upon all in our communion, by the exercise of discipline, that is at this moment threatening the whole Church with dissolution. "Our people are no longer as one body of Christians;" our Churches "are agitated by the tumultuous spirit of party," and our Assembly is made the theatre for the open display of humiliating scenes of human passions and weakness." Mutual confidence is weakened; respect for the supreme judicatory of our Church is impaired; our hope that the dignified and impartial course of justice would flow steadily onward has expired, and a large portion of the religious press is made subservient to error. Those who have succeeded in gaining control of the judicatories of the Church, and wielding them for the destruction of her purity, peace, liberty and unity, now "seek to give permanent security to their errors and to themselves, by raising an outcry in the churches against all who love the truth well enough to contend for it." "Troublers of the Church," "disloyal," "secessionists," "abettors of treason, assassination and murder," "enemies of freedom," and such like terms of reproach are heaped upon all who raise their voice against the subversion of the Church.

A determination is expressed, and has already been partly put into effect, to use the Seminaries and Boards of the Church to perpetuate and propagate the false doctrines we have enumerated, and to employ the courts of the Church to silence and cut off all who refuse to assent to such doctrines. Thus the General Assembly, instead of being the safeguard of the faith and order of the whole Church, the protector of the rights and liberties of its ministers and members, and the bond of unity for the several churches under its care, has itself become the support of heresy, the abettor of injustice and despotism, the fomenter of discord, and the prime leader in promoting a great and destructive schism in the body of Christ.

Such, then, is the alarming, unhappy and ruinous condition to which our beloved Church has, with a rapidity unparalleled, at length arrived. The ancient landmarks of Truth and Freedom which our fathers set amid the raging storm of persecution have been swept away. The infallible oracles of God have been abandoned for the purblind leadings of natural instinct and the uncertain teachings of human reason. The pure and heavenly principles of charity, taught by apostles and evangelists and illustrated in their lives, have been substituted by a shallow humanitarian philanthropy which, whilst it devours widows' houses and renders void God's law of love, makes broad its phylacteries, and with sound of trumpet parades its zeal for the poor and the enslaved. The plainest teachings of the Holy Scriptures respecting the relation and duties of masters and servants *(despotai kai douloi)* have been pronounced cruel and unjust; to believe and practice in accordance therewith branded as an "unwillingness of the human heart to see and accept the truth against the prejudices of habit and interest." And an institution which has always existed in the Church uncondemned, and which was recognized and sanctioned by Christ and his Apostles, is pronounced an "*evil and guilt*," condemned as "SIN," and affirmed to be the "root of rebellion, war and bloodshed, and the long list of horrors which follow in their train." The prophetic office of Jesus Christ has thus been impugned, and the utterances of false prophets substituted for His words. In like manner has his office as the High Priest, Intercessor of men been assailed. The right and privilege of the Christian is thus declared by the Apostle: "Seeing that we have a Great High Priest that is passed into the heavens, Jesus the Son of God—not an High Priest who can not be touched with the feeling of our infirmities, but was in all points tempted like as we are—let us therefore come boldly" *(meta parrhasias*, free-spokenness, with the liberty of confiding children) "unto the throne of grace, that we may obtain mercy and find grace to help in time of need." But the exercise of this freedom has been forbidden. Limits have been prescribed in the Intercession of God's people and to the prerogatives of the Great High Priest. It has been forbidden to pray for this or that person or thing; it has been required to ask only for blessings upon this or that man, and to plead only for the success and safety of this or that cause or measure. It has been demanded that the mercy seat should only resound with imprecations upon one class of men and benedictions upon another. The military sword has been thrust between the people of God and the throne of grace, and this impious attempt to restrict the prerogatives of the High Priest of the Church, and that freedom of access to himself which he has bestowed as an inalienable right upon his people, has received the most unequivocal sanction of the great body of the Church. Nor less has the supreme authority of Christ in the exercise of his kingly office been trampled under foot by those who have sworn obedience to his Government. By the repeated acts of the several judicatories of the Church, including the General Assembly itself, the invasion of the freedom of Christ's Commonwealth by the civil and military powers has been not only allowed, but approved. The right of the secular power thus to interfere in the affairs of Christ's Kingdom has been admitted, and the duty of submitting cheerfully to the exercise of this right enforced upon ministers and Church members. Thus the crown rights of Prince Immanuel have been surrendered to his enemies. The honor and glory of Zion is trailed in the dust. No longer can it be said that our Church serves "another king, one Jesus." As by the Jewish Church of old, so it seems to be again proclaimed with loud and angry vociferations by priest and people, "We have no king but Cæsar."

The whole mediatorial glory and dignity of the Messiah has been thus tarnished, and all the offices of Prophet, Priest and King, which he executes for the salvation of his people, are subverted and surrendered. If this, then, be not an *apostasy*, surely it needs but little to make it so, clearly, unmistakably, fatally. Nothing can prevent this but the blessing of Almighty God upon the efforts which his faithful witnesses may make to arouse the people to a reality of the extent of the evil and danger, and to bring them by prompt and decided action to purge the Church of the evil influence which has corrupted and betrayed her.

Against this corruption and betrayal, therefore, we testify in the sight of God and angels and men. We wash our hands of all participation in its guilt. We declare our deliberate purpose, trusting in God, who can save by few as well as by many, to use our best endeavors to bring back the Church of our fathers to her ancient purity and integrity, upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, and under the banner of our only King, Priest and Prophet, the Lord Jesus Christ. In this endeavor we pledge ourselves to assist and co-operate with each other. And, by the grace of God, we will never abandon the effort, no matter what sacrifices it may require us to make, until we shall either have succeeded in reforming the Church and restoring her tarnished glory, or, failing in this, necessity shall be laid upon us, in obedience to the Apostolic command, to "withdraw" from those who have departed from the truth. Compelled to this course we will go, bearing with us the true Presbyterian Church, with her doctrine, order, worship and freedom, as they have been given her by her Divine Head, and transmitted from generation to generation by the hands of saints and confessors and martyrs.

ACTION PROPOSED.

And now, dear brethren in Christ, that without delay we may begin this arduous and most important work, to you who, like ourselves, are servants of the Lord Christ, "who adhere to the plain doctrines of the cross as taught in the standards of the Westminster Assembly;" to all of you "who love your ancient and pure Constitution;" to you who are grieved for the afflictions of Jacob, and desire to restore our abused and corrupted Church to her simplicity, purity and liberty; we, a portion of yourselves, ministers and elders of your Churches, would propose most respectfully and kindly, and yet most earnestly:

1. "That we refuse to give our support to ministers, elders, agents, editors, teachers, or to those who are in any other capacity engaged in religious instruction or effort, who hold the preceding or similar heresies."

2. That we refuse to take any part in the discussion or decision by any Ecclesiastical Court of those questions touching the policy and measures which do properly pertain to the civil commonwealth.

3. That we will recognize no authority in the decision of questions of Christian doctrine or morals, or concerning the rights of the Church or the duties of its members, other than the written Word of God.

4. That we will not take any oath prescribed by civil or military authority as a qualification for sitting in a Church Court, or for worshiping God, or for preaching the Gospel, or exercising any of the functions of the ministry. Nor will we sit in any judicatory thus constituted.

5. That we will extend our sympathy and aid, as we may have opportunity, to all who in any way are subject to ecclesiastical censure or civil disabilities or penalties for their adherence to the principles we maintain and the repudiation of the errors in doctrine and practice against which we bear testimony.

6. That we will not sustain, or execute, or in any manner assist in the execution of the orders passed at the last two Assemblies on the subject of

slavery and loyalty; and with reference to the conducting of missions in the Southern States, and with regard to the ministers, members and churches in the seceded and border States.

7. That we will withhold our contributions from the Boards of the Church (with the exception of the Board of Foreign Missions) and from the Theological Seminaries, until these institutions are rescued from the hands of those who are perverting them to the teaching and promulgation of principles subversive of the system they were founded and organized to uphold and disseminate. And we will appropriate the moneys thus withheld in aid of those instrumentalities which may be employed for maintaining and defending the principles affirmed in this declaration against the errors herein rejected and in assisting the impoverished ministers and Churches everywhere throughout the country who agree with us in these essential doctrines in restoring and building up their congregations and houses of worship.

8. We recommend that all Ministers, Elders, Church Sessions, Presbyteries and Synods, who approve this Declaration and Testimony, give their public adherence thereto in such manner as they shall prefer, and communicate their names, and when a Church court, a copy of their adhering act."

9. "That, inasmuch as our only hope of improvement and reformation in the affairs of our Church depends upon the interposition of Him who is King in Zion, that we will unceasingly and importunately supplicate a Throne of Grace for the return of that purity and peace the absence of which we now sorrowfully deplore."

10. We do earnestly recommend that on the .... day of ...., A. D., 1865, a Convention be held in the city of ...., composed of all such Ministers and Ruling Elders as may concur in the views and sentiments of this Testimony, to deliberate and consult on the present state of our Church; and to adopt such further measures as may seem best suited to restore her prostrated Standards, and vindicate the pure and peaceful religion of Jesus from the reproach which has been brought upon it through the faithlessness and corruption of its ministers and professors.

"And now, brethren, our whole heart is laid open to you and to the world. If a majority of our Church are against us (as we have too much reason to apprehend it is), they will, we suppose, in the end, either see the infatuation of their course and retrace their steps, or they will at last attempt to cut us off. If the former, we shall bless the God of Jacob; if the latter, we desire to stand ready, for the sake of Christ and in support of the Testimony now made, to endure whatever suffering may be required of us by our Lord. We have here frankly, openly and candidly laid before our erring brethren the course we are, by the grace of God, irrevocably determined to pursue. It is our steadfast aim to reform the Church, or so testify against its errors and defections until testimony will be no longer heard. And we commit the issue into the hands of Him who is over all, God blessed forever. AMEN."

But the Northern Church was not in the temper to be reformed. The dominant party, which had risen into power upon the whirlwind of political passions, was too much intoxicated with the lust of dominion to brook any restraint upon its arbitrary will. The overwhelming majority by which—through five years of intense excitement—it had succeeded in passing all its measures, gave assurance of an easy triumph over this feeble band, whose only weapon was a Declaration, on the unpopular side, against the madness and fury which were ruling the country. The St. Louis Assembly was opened in the usual form, at eleven o'clock on Thursday, May 17, 1866. At four in the afternoon the Moderator and Clerk were duly elected; just then—at precisely the earliest moment that business could be introduced—the following resolution was offered:"

WHEREAS, It is understood that the Presbytery of Louisville has openly defied the General Assembly and refused to submit to its orders, in a pamphlet adopted by it, of which the following is a specimen, viz.: "We will not sustain or execute or in any manner assist in the execution of the orders passed at the last two Assemblies on the subject of slavery and loyalty, and with reference to the conducting of missions in the Southern States, and with regard to the ministers, members and Churches in the seceded and border States;" and,

WHEREAS, Said Presbytery has commissioned and sent to this Assembly at least one Commissioner who, if the order of the last Assemby had been faithfully executed by said Presbytery, there is the strongest ground for

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NOTE.—Some portions of the above recommendation, together with most of the closing paragraph, are taken from the Act and Testimony, A. D. 1835.

believing would have been suspended from the functions of the Gospel ministry; therefore,

Resolved, That until the Assembly shall have examined and decided upon the conduct of said Presbytery, the Commissioners therefrom shall not be entitled to seats in this body.

A committee of four Ministers and three Ruling Elders are appointed to look into matters and report.

This committee of seven deliberate what further action shall be taken by the Assembly after ejecting the Commissioners of the Presbytery of Louisville. The committee propose that the Presbytery of Louisville be forthwith dissolved as "recusant" and "rebellious," and that a new Presbytery be constituted of certain parties named, who must, however, subscribe a formula avowing their disapproval of the Declaration and Testimony. Two months of grace is also allowed to the signers of that wicked document to retract their error; after which, if still recusant, their pastoral relations are to be, *ipso facto*, dissolved. This form of discipline, however, was superseded by the famous Gurley substitute. It is embraced in the following resolutions:

1. *Resolved*, That this General Assembly does hereby condemn the Declaration and Testimony as a slander against the Church, schismatical in its character and aims, and its adoption by any of our Church Courts as an act of rebellion against the authority of the General Assembly.

2. *Resolved*, That the whole subject contemplated in this report, including the report itself, be referred to the next General Assembly.

3. *Resolved*, That the signers of the Declaration and Testimony, and the members of the Presbytery of Louisville who voted to adopt that paper, be summoned to appear before the next General Assembly to answer for what they have done in this matter; and that, until their case is decided, they shall not be permitted to sit as members of any Church Court higher than the Session.

4. *Resolved*, That if any Presbytery shall disregard this action of the General Assembly, and at any meeting shall enroll, as entitled to a seat or seats in the body, one or more of the persons designated in the preceding resolution and summoned to appear before the next General Assembly, then

that Presbytery shall, *ipso facto*, be dissolved; and its ministers and elders who adhere to this action of the Assembly are hereby authorized and directed in such cases to take charge of the Presbyterial records, to retain the name and exercise all the authority and functions of the original Presbytery until the next meeting of the General Assembly.

5. *Resolved*, That Synods, at their next stated meetings, in making up their rolls, shall be guided and governed by this action of the General Assembly.

The Commissioners who represented Louisville Presbytery at St. Louis, in 1866, were Drs. Robinson and Wilson, ministers, with Mark Hardin and Charles Wickliffe, elders. But these distinguished, godly and venerable men were cast out of the Assembly.

Dr. McPheeters, at the meeting of the Louisville Presbytery, in June, 1866, immediately subsequent to the General Assembly, offered the following paper:

Now, therefore, the Presbytery of Louisville, in view of these facts and the new and solemn issues which they force upon this court, adopt the following minute:

1. This Presbytery, being a constituent part of the Presbyterian Church, had a right to select and send Commissioners to the General Assembly "to consult, vote and determine on all things that "may" come before that body according to the principles and Constitution of the Presbyterian "Church and the Word of God,"and Presbytery solemnly affirms that this right is derived not from the General Assembly, but from the Lord Jesus Christ the Head of the Church, and that this right is secured to this body, not by the pleasure or opinion or vote of Commissioners representing other Presbyteries, but by the Constitution of the Church, which rests upon the revealed will of Christ; and, therefore, for the Assembly to deny or wrest from this Presbytery this right, except by regular trial and discipline according to the Standards of the Church and the Word of God, is a usurpation of the rights of the Lord Christ, and is proceeding on a principle which not only violates, but subverts the Constitution of the Church.

2. This Presbytery further declares that when this action was taken by the Assembly, this judicatory was in no way and in no sense under discipline or process of discipline, that no notice, citation or summons of any kind

had been served on this body, and, further, that the records of Presbytery were not under review by the Assembly, nor were they even in their hands. There was not, therefore, and in the nature of the case there could not be, any ground or pretext for excluding the Commissioners of this Presbytery other than the assumption of an arbitrary and unlimited power by the Assembly, which needs but to be imitated by Synods, Presbyteries or Church Sessions to carry anarchy and ruin through the entire Church.

3. This Presbytery further declares, that it is with profound sorrow and shame that they find the Highest Court of the Church, by a majority of 201 to 50, adopting, and that under the operation of rules which shows that this majority considered the paper before them too plain to need discussion and too perfect to admit of amendment, a resolution excluding Louisville Presbytery from seats in the body "until the Assembly shall have *examined and decided* on the conduct of said Presbytery"—as though a Presbytery had no right to be present by Commissioners when its "conduct" was being "examined and decided"—as though, even if its Commissioners were in their seats, a Presbytery, according to our Constitution, could have its "conduct examined and decided upon" by a superior court, and yet the Presbytery know nothing of the whole thing until the "examination" is over and the "decision" rendered—as though in so vital and fundamental a matter as the right of representation any "examination and decision," with no Commissioners on the floor, no Presbytery cited to appear, and no records before the court, could be anything but a mockery of right and justice.

4. This Presbytery, moreover, feels constrained to utter its solemn protest against a court of the Lord's House passing a preamble in which charges are instituted against a minister in good standing of a character so grave as to merit deposition from the ministry, and doing this not that the charges may be investigated, but that they may be *put upon the minutes;* and while doing it, by a relentless and immediate enforcement of the previous question, effectually to close the lips of the accused against a single word of remonstrance, explanation or denial, as a cruel and wanton outrage upon Christian and ministerial character.

Harsh and divisive measures rent the Church asunder; the Synods of Kentucky and Missouri split in twain. When the Assembly met, in 1867, in Cincinnati, the first duty was to decide between the claims of rival Presbyteries contesting the right of representation in that Court. This matter, together with all others relating to the signers of the Declaration and Testimony, was referred to a committee of ten. Pending the discussion of its report the claimants for contested seats were heard, and two of the Declaration signers appeared in obedience to citation and offered their defense; after which, by the overwhelming vote of 261 to 4, the paper was adopted which made a final disposition of all these issues. By one sweeping sentence of outlawry two Synods and twelve Presbyteries in the States of Kentucky and Missouri, embracing some 150 ministers, 250 Churches, 500 Ruling Elders and 1,500 communicants, were disowned and dropped. Then follows, as a matter of course, the grace of reconstruction out of all this chaos. All members of these "unlawful organizations," if not signers of the Declaration, may be received into the bosom of the Church upon the simple expression, to the proper Presbytery, of a desire to adhere; but those who had put their signature to this naughty instrument must first purge themselves by the following formula of abjuration:

> I, A—— B——, hereby declare my desire to adhere to the Presbyterian Church, in the United States of America; and do now promise to render due obedience in the Lord to the authority of all its Courts, embracing the Presbytery, the Synod, and the General Assembly; and to this end, inasmuch as the last General Assembly pronounced the aforesaid Declaraion and Testimony to be a slander against the Church, schismatical in its character and aims, and its adoption by any of our Church Courts an act of rebellion against the authority of the General Assembly, I do hereby disclaim that I had any intention to rebel against or renounce the authority of the General Assembly in signing the Declaration and Testimony, and I hereby withdraw all language deemed by the General Assembly offensive or disrespectful in which its sentiments are expressed.

CHAPTER XVII.

PASTORAL WORK AT MULBERRY.

In the spring of 1865, as before remarked, Dr. McPheeters received and accepted a call to Mulberry, Kentucky. This Church is situated in the heart of a fine agricultural region, and its members are noted for kindness to the servants of Christ, in connection with a steadfast adherence to the truth. This is the spot where the Rev. Archibald Cameron, called the Father of Presbyterianism in Shelby county, whose praise was in all the Churches for sound doctrine, simple faith and great abilities, had his home. The people at an early day were taught from the lips of "this Prince and great man in Israel." The foundations which he laid in the blessed doctrine of the "Crown and Covenant" could not be easily effaced; for he "walked about Zion and went round about her; he told the towers thereof, marked well her bulwarks and considered well her palaces, that the daughters of Judah might be glad and tell it to the generation following." When this able and faithful minister of the New Testament "fell on sleep" his mantle descended upon others who did not shun to declare the whole counsel of God. Such men as Paxton and Wilson were his worthy successors. And now, when the land mourns, the saintly but persecuted McPheeters finds a refuge and shelter in the bosom of this favored and sympathizing congregation. And from the moment that he came the people "were knit to the hunted martyr as the soul of Jonathan to the soul of David, and they took him that day and would let him go no more" until the young men that loved him bore his precious dust to a peaceful resting place in the grave.

At no period of life could Dr. McPheeters have been considered physically robust. The jewel was set in a fine but delicate casket. The work which he did in St. Louis previous to the war taxed bodily strength to the utmost. The manuscript preparations which remain attest most clearly that the Pine street congregation were served from Sabbath to Sabbath with "well beaten oil." These "labors abundant," added to engagements from without, weighed heavily upon a constitution naturally fragile. But few individuals outside of the ministry comprehend the "weariness, watchings and painfulness" which come daily upon the conscientious pastor. Beside the legitimate care of the flock, he is often hindered, and even persecuted, by unreasonable men; for happy indeed is the Church that does not contain in its bosom a prating Diotrephes, a carping Iscariot, or some morbidly sensitive member who, destitute of self-respect, worries every company that he enters with a history of pastoral oversights and congregational neglect. The failing health of Dr. McPheeters called for rest and recreation; hence the visit to New Mexico. He was absent a year; and if on his return the pastor had been permitted, without molestation, to preach Christ and Him crucified, all might have gone well; but to the wonted duties of a pastorate were superadded the extraordinary responsibilities necessarily imposed by a frightful national conflict, and, as though this was not enough, persecution began its diabolical work. The faithful, gentle shepherd was hunted like a beast of the mountains, not by Cæsar himself, but by Cæsar "evil entreated" by "false brethren." The shaft of the hunter was well aimed, and pierced with precision the flesh of the victim. It was seen, alas! too soon, that the "pitcher had been broken at the fountain." And thus, worn and feeble, the noble exile entered on labor in his new field at Mulberry.

A pastor's work in the quiet country does not afford much variety of incident for the pen of the biographer. But in a field like this, to a minister who has the good sense and piety to cultivate it properly, there are peculiar advantages and elevated joys; for outside of the dust and hurry of a great city are leisure and befitting opportunity to commune with one's own soul and God, while the intercourse with an unpretending but sensible people is sincere, endearing and satisfactory. Situated in the center of a rural district a preacher worthy of the name is literally the parson, or person to whom all eyes are turned with deference and respect; and if the pastor does not gain influence and find a cordial welcome at every fire side, the fault unquestionably is with himself, for the population here are affectionate and confiding, and the removal or death of the minister is regarded with anxiety and lamented with tears.

Dr. McPheeters was panting under the trials and perplexities of the past; but now, after four years of turmoil, he finds a home in a peaceful agricultural region, far removed from the din and business of the crowded city. And friends fondly hoped that change of scene, in connection with gentle labors in the open air, would reinvigorate the wasted energies of both body and mind. For a year or more the pastor had sufficient strength to visit, to a limited extent at least, the congregation at their own homes; but, in addition, from the very beginning, he threw the doors of the parsonage wide open and invited all to enter. And whatever the anxiety or sorrow, the soul of the sufferer, when it looked upon the solemn, benignant face of the preacher, realized in a moment that this was no mere "professional" teacher, but a man "come from God" to bind up the broken in heart, to comfort the mourner, and to point by authority and with a brother's sympathies the weary and heavy laden to Christ.

On September 15, 1865, Dr. J. H. Brookes wrote to Dr. McPheeters and enclosed him an "extract from minutes of Presbytery of St. Louis," signed by Stated Clerk. The minutes are as follows:

EXTRACT FROM MINUTES OF PRESBYTERY OF ST. LOUIS, IN SESSION AT WASHINGTON, MO., SEPT. 7, 1865.

This being the first regular meeting enjoyed by this body for a length of time free from any obstruction from without, the Presbytery feel bound to record their view of a case of great importance, which resulted in the dissolution of the relation existing between Rev. Dr. McPheeters and the Pine Street Church, and, finally, in a prohibition of his preaching in that Church. The facts are briefly these:

On the 15th of May, 1863, a *pro-re-nata* meeting, which initiated the proceedings, was called almost immediately after a full regular meeting, and at a time of wide-spread excitement and alarm in the country, when the minds of men were eminently unfitted for a calm consideration and judicious adjustment of grave questions, and when Dr. McPheeters was prevented from attending by military authority, and, therefore, had no opportunity for defense.

On the 27th of May, 1863, a meeting of Pine Street Church was held, when it was determined, by a vote of 91 to 56, not to agree to a dissolution of the relation. After this, and near the hour of midnight, the majority having left the house, the minority appointed Mr. George P. Strong as Commissioner to represent the Church, and directed him to urge the dissolution of the pastoral relation.

On the 22d of June, 1863, another meeting of Pine Street Church was held, when it was resolved, by a large majority, that unless Mr. George P. Strong, as the Commissioner of this congregation, can and will, in good faith, present and urge upon Presbytery the voice and wishes of the congregation as expressed by the resolution adopted on the motion of Captain Greene, on a fair vote of 91 to 56, he be requested to resign his trust as Commissioner.

On the evening of June 23, 1863, the Presbytery met, and Dr. McPheeters, through Mr. Brookes, asked leave to withdraw his resignation which had been placed in the hands of Presbytery at its *pro-re-nata* meeting on the 15th of June. On motion, it was resolved, that he have leave to withdraw his paper. Subsequently, Mr. Brookes, acting for Dr. McPheeters, and, as was understood, in accordance with his wishes, withdrew the request to have the Presbytery consider the resignation not in their hands, and left the whole matter to be decided by them as they might deem best. Upon this Presbytery dissolved the relation.

On the 6th of April, 1864, Presbytery, meeting under special military order No. 62, and consisting of 18 members out of about 60, and at the request of only 9 members of Pine Street Church out of a membership of 308, ordered Dr. McPheeters to abstain from further occupancy of Pine Street pulpit, to which he had been invited by his Session and a large majority of his Church during the pendency of his case before the Superior courts. Therefore, *resolved*,

1. That the action restraining Dr. McPheeters from preaching in the Pine Street Church be, and is now, revoked.

2. That we extend our sincerest sympathy to Dr. McPheeters in any trial and suffering he may have endured consequent upon the dissolution of the pastoral relation between him and the Pine Street Church, and also that we do disclaim any intention of personal unkindness to him in any action on the part of this Presbytery.

3. That the conduct of Mr. Strong, in persisting to represent the Church contrary to the will of the majority, and the action of Presbytery in permitting him to appear before them as the Church representative, merit the strongest disapprobation of Presbytery.

Morover, it is but simple justice to record that at the first opportunity which presented itself, after the removal of bayonets, the Pine Street congregation, by an overwhelming majority, made an earnest and heartfelt call upon Dr. McPheeters to return and minister as pastor to the people from whom, contrary to their wishes, he had been unrighteously torn by the cruel hand of ecclesiastico-military power. This call was forwarded to Dr. McPheeters in the spring of 1866. He determined at once to visit St. Louis. The reunion was cordial and delightful, but, after prayerful consideration, he wisely concluded that a wasted physical system could no longer be adequate to the urgent demands of so important a charge in a large and growing city. The invitation, so tenderly and generously offered, was therefore declined.

Winter, spring and summer of another year, 1866, glided peacefully by as "this Disciple whom Jesus loved" visited from house to house, and on every Sabbath day dispensed the gospel of the grace of God, in its sweetness and simplicity, to a company of solemn and eager listeners. But when the autumn came the physician enjoined the preacher, and he was compelled to modify his plan of labor. Dr. McPheeters, now confined to bed, yearned with no less insatiable desire over the souls committed to his charge. Hence, when he could go no more out, the chamber where the pastor lay was turned into a Bethel. The congregation might come to him if he could not go to them. Bible classes were formed, prayer meetings established, and these were followed by exhortations which can never be forgotten. At every meeting the frail, wan laborer went forth weeping, sowing precious seed. He sowed beside all waters, in dark days as in bright, "giving a portion to seven and also to eight." The people saw and heard with amazement as the truth fell with such power from the lips of this sick and suffering man.

During the winter and spring of 1867 it became manifest that the glory of the Lord was about to fill the Tabenacle. Faithful ones began to cry, "Oh! that we knew where we might find Him, that we might come even to His seat," whilst there were certain stricken souls that knelt at the bedside of the pastor and said, "Sir, we would see Jesus." The things which came to pass there in those days deeply impressed the thoughtful, and all were amazed at the mighty power of God.

Surely here was no strange fire offered on the Lord's altars, but "the entrance of God's word gave light."

In the midst of this precious season of revival the steps of an evangelist were turned in the direction of Mulberry. The sick and wearied pastor needed help, now that the fields were white, and the Great Head of the Church provided a laborer to go in for a season to reap in the harvest. Rev. Robert Nall came at a favorable moment. The way was thoroughly prepared, and many hearts waited with desire "for the kingdom of God." Dr. Nall preached for several days to the congregation, and then went forward to other appointments. But the interest steadily increased, and "the word of God grew and multiplied." On the 11th of May Dr. McPheeters addressed the following letter to the brother who had assisted him:

"You requested to hear from us after our meeting to-day, and I drop you a line. The meeting was largely attended—room full; several young men present who did not attend the first meeting. Brother Grasty happened to be here and assisted me. I explained the plan of salvation in a simple, earnest way, and pressed upon them, in a calm manner, the necessity of closing at once with the offer of Christ. Brother Grasty followed with a few very appropriate remarks. I never saw a more solemnly thoughtful assembly. After detaining them as long as I felt it right I dismissed the meeting, inviting them to call and see me individually at such times as they could. But hardly one moved; many wept aloud; and one by one they came and, sitting by me, laid open their hearts to me, asking for instruction and prayer. I have never seen anything like it. Many found hope—how many I can not say—others seemed 'to see men as trees walking.'

"The meeting did not adjourn until the Elder came and told them it was time to disperse. Many made engagements to see me to-morrow. Some, who were formerly members of the Church, but backsliding, were here deeply affected, desiring prayers and instruction. My heart is full. My cup runneth over. It was of the Lord that you were sent here, and we will always remember it with gratitude and joy. May the blessing of God, sent us by you, return tenfold on you. I still do not know if I may expect Dr. Robinson next Sunday week (third Sunday). If you can do so, see him and urge his coming, if possible."

Elder John C. Brown, in a postscript, adds:

"It was the most impressive scene of my life. At the hour the young people came in, almost by families, to the number of 22, and surrounded our dear pastor's bed. He prayed and sung and gave us one of the most impressive exhortations, setting forth the plan of salvation in its clearest light, occupying about an hour or so, and dismissed. A few of us got up to go, but the anxious stood in the room. The Lord was there. They gathered around our pastor's bed and knelt down. He would take them by the hand, some in the deepest distress and some rejoicing in hope. O, I never heard our Master set forth so impressively and with such unction. They came up two or three at a time and knelt by his bed, until almost the last one came up. We had prayer again; then he prayed for them. O, it would have delighted your soul to have been there. When I got them to leave I went to the Doctor to know if he was exhausted. 'O,' he said, 'I am better, and not the least exhausted.' O, sir, if you could have seen that man of God lying on his back, with his long gray beard, and his hands stretched to heaven, and the love of God impressed on his countenance, pleading with his Savior for sinners, it would have left impressions that could never have been erased. I have tried to describe the scene, but it is a failure. May the Lord bless you in your labors."

At the memorable scene described above the writer was present, and he very much doubts if at that hour, in all this sin-burdened world, there could be found a holier spot than the chamber of this faithful witness for the truth of Jesus, as the glory of God descended and the Shekinah dwelt between the wings of the cherubim which overshadowed the mercy-seat. The pastor unfolded in earnest, solemn, simple words the scheme of redemption. His utterance was often choked and the tears flowed freely as he expatiated upon the person, work and loveliness of Christ. He told the weary and heavy-laden that "the doing was all done," and that the Master "stood and called." He turned over and over again, in one apt illustration after another, the sinner's guilt and inability, while the burdened soul was pointed, with ineffable yearning and tenderness, to the Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world. The distressed and weeping ones around the couch of the minister were urged to submit at once to the righteousness of God, to venture wholly upon Christ. And with many other words did he testify and exhort, saying, "Save yourselves from this untoward generation." Many gladly received his word, fear came upon every soul, and the glory of God filled the house. Not a few will take with them to the grave the memory of the gracious words which were spoken that day; and how the under-shepherd, in imitation of the Master, "beginning at Moses and all the Prophets, expounded unto them in all the Scriptures the things concerning Jesus, until the hearts of these Disciples burned within them as he talked with them by the way."

These things came to pass at Mulberry in the spring of 1867. For weary months, by command of physicians, the pastor reclined upon an invalid bed in the fond hope that this mechanical position might so far relieve the ailing part as to open up a natural prospect for future and permanent restoration. But, alas! these expectations were baffled. The mind of the pastor was perplexed. The congregation, now more than ever, needed a minister to go in and out among them to break the bread of life. The exigencies of the fold, at this hour, required a watchful hand to lead the new-born lambs in "green pastures beside the gently flowing streams." Is the present pastor, shut in his chamber, sufficient for these things? The question oppressed his mind, and Dr. McPheeters seriously and conscientiously meditated a resignation. But when his thoughts upon this subject were laid bare to the Elders, it was ascertained that a step of this nature would be productive only of sorrow and consternation to a confiding and satisfied people. Throughout the entire congregation there was not a whisper of discontent, but every one, from the oldest to the youngest, preferred their present noble, wise and loving minister, "with his often infirmities," to any other "overseer" the Church could bestow. In the meantime, however, the preacher was quietly revolving a scheme of his own. It has been seen already how the Bible class and prayer meeting were statedly held in the room of the pastor, while every member of the flock was invited, without limit, to enter the door of the manse; and now, with these matters arranged and perfected, only one thing more could be indispensable to a complete organization—this was the preached Word, on the Sabbath day, in the sanctuary itself. Could this be accomplished? The pastor had his plans. Though sorely afflicted bodily, the voice of the preacher remained clear and strong. He could not stand or sit, but why could he not preach to the people in a recumbent posture? At any rate, this method should be tried. Straightway the purpose is announced and preparations made. Laid upon a well-fitting lounge, the pastor is taken up by careful hands and lifted into an ambulance made ready at the door. Slowly and carefully the vehicle moves forward to the little church that stands off yonder, two miles, in the forest. The house of God is reached safely, and the minister, without serious discomfort, finds himself once again face to face with the assembly of the saints. The people are amazed, but the heart of the pastor is filled with joy. Just there, in front of the pulpit, on a lowly bed, the preacher discoursed of the great salvation till even the old and gray-headed "glorified God, saying, we never saw it on this wise."

This experiment surpassed the expectations of the most sanguine. And now, that the way was opened to the sanctuary, the pastor's heart overflowed with gratitude. When the Sabbath day came, no ordinary difficulty could keep him home. He did not "regard the clouds." The prospect of reunion with his people in the "holy place" on Sabbath day imparted strength for all the burdens of the week. A shade of gloom or disappointment rarely ever passed over his countenance except when some occurrence "at feeding time" detained the shepherd from his flock. He felt the poorer if even one opportunity was lost. To preach Christ and Him crucified was the joy and crown of this man's life. And now, that so many days in God's house had been foregone on account of bodily infirmity, the preacher regarded the present and future with a holy jealousy. He remarked to an Elder: "Brother Brown, there was a time when it gave me great pleasure to welcome a minister to my pulpit, but now when a brother preaches for me *I feel that he has taken the bread out of my mouth*." Such was the zeal of a prophet of the Lord in these days. Trials only made the promise sweet. And as the broken alabaster-box of ointment very precious poured upon the head of Jesus in the house of Simon the leper filled the room with its costly odor, so the life of this martyr, crushed out by persecution, yields a gracious fragrance which shall animate the Church of God for many days. On the other hand, "suffering only made *his* crown more splendid—gave it a majesty of shine and an imperial glory."

After sermon Sabbath morning it was delightful to witness the interest which every one manifested about the comfort of "the Doctor," as the pastor was almost universally called. Young and old must gain a shake of the hand and hear it from the minister's own lips that the labors of the day had not distressed or overtaxed him. There stood at his head a mother in Israel, yonder at his feet a gentle child waiting the genial summons, while all around were loving hearts vying with each other in offices of kindness. That was the favored young man who stood nearest to the "Doctor" when the narrow bed with its cherished occupant had to be lifted into the ambulance preparatory to the journey homeward. Mulberry parsonage was a spot toward which the step even of a stranger was attracted in those days. The fame of the good man spread abroad and the passer-by felt constrained to turn in and behold the countenance of one whose manner of life was such a strange rebuke in a generation overburdened with evil devices. And no one who entered that dwelling for an hour can ever forget the impressions made by the prophet in his chamber. There lay a figure emaciated and bowed by sickness—with all reasonable prospect of restoration entirely gone—the world and society as he once knew them definitely shut out, and yet the countenance of that frail invalid not only indicates resignation, but there is an expression of peace and blessed satisfaction that excited wonder and admiration in every beholder. Said a man, whose name is known all through the land, "I can get over every argument in favor of Christianity but the life of McPheeters." The writer remembers with joy and thankfulness his own oft-repeated visits to the parsonage of Mulberry. Many a time has he held long and precious intercourse with his departed friend about the "affairs of the kingdom." When he was engaged upon the little volume, "Faith's Battles and Victories," Dr. McPheeters manifested the liveliest interest, and the MSS. of that book, page after page, underwent his careful inspection, and the sentiments throughout were heartily endorsed. Indeed, the worthies of that olden time who, "through faith, subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, out of weakness were made strong, waxed valiant in fight, turned to flight the armies of the aliens," was the society in which this witness for truth in the present day delighted to linger.

It was not in the company of strangers and before the eye of the multitude that Dr. McPheeters appeared to the greatest advantage; but in the society of friends, in the sweet circle of home, with wife and children about him, the husband and father poured out most freely the riches of his noble nature. These reunions of the household gave opportunity for wit, repartee, pathos and words of wisdom not easily forgotten. And even when death had done its work the same sweetness of expression lingered upon the features. Over and over again a gentle child stole softly and alone to the spot where the body lay and caressed with touching familiarity and affection the remains of her departed father, for the grim monster himself could not clothe with terror the fair palace where sympathy and love had so richly abided. True, the occupant was fled, but the memorials which remained were endearing and precious. To the daughter, who had so often been folded in love, that clay tabernacle, although pulseless and cold, could not be associated with a thought either of repugnance or alarm. With a casket so fair, it was difficult to believe that the jewel was gone.

In August of 1868, Louisville Presbytery met in Shelbyville, and Dr. McPheeters attended. After his return to Mulberry, on Aug. 25, he wrote to his brother, Dr. W. M. McPheeters.

MY DEAR BROTHER: While the children are at the Fair and it is quiet, I will drop you a line to report on matters generally, though in fact I have but little to say of any importance. I continue to walk about the house a little and go regularly to the table, but I am not able to sit up long at a time and generally keep my lounge. I hardly know whether or not I should try to sit up more than I do. I am very short winded, and I think if I were to sit an hour, especially without my brace, that it would give me pain in my back or sides. I continue to preach on my couch and go out visiting in the same way. I have lately bought me a very comfortable ambulance. . . . I went to Presbytery last week, in Shelbyville, on my couch. It was very pleasant to meet the brethren once more. The Shelbyville people expressed a strong desire to have me preach, and had made all the arrangements, but, of course, I declined, when there were so many on their feet to do it better. I have no doubt there would have been many more anxious to hear me if I had stood on my head and preached, than wanted to hear a sermon from a preacher lying on a couch. . . . Tell Maggie that we have had a great many young people on Mulberry this summer, and they have had a gay time, especially at the Bird's nest. . . .

CHAPTER XVIII.

FINAL VISIT TO ST. LOUIS—LAST DAYS.

In 1869, when summer came, the distinguished invalid was urged by friends to apply to the highest medical sources the country could furnish. It was thought by some that if a brace should be fitted to the spine by scientific hands, the prospect for comfort, locomotion and final recovery might be greatly enhanced. At first it was contemplated to call in the services of an eminent surgeon from the city of New York. But, after the matter, in all its bearings, had been calmly considered, Dr. McPheeters concluded, on his own judgment, to visit his old congregation in the city of St. Louis, and to rely upon the skill of the medical men there. This visit was made, and the pastor found himself once again in the very bosom of a flock from whose embraces he had been torn, four years before, by the relentless decision of the Assembly of Newark. During his four weeks' stay there were many touching reunions. The scattered fold crowded about the bed of a shepherd who had not only fed them in happier days, but who, in times of peril, counted not his own life dear so that those committed to his care might be saved.

During his sojourn an incident occurred which is not only significant, but highly suggestive. A member of Pine Street Church who joined in the wicked persecution of other days now came to the couch of the pastor and said, "Dr. McPheeters, I was glad when they told me that you were coming to St. Louis, for I wanted to see you face to face once more in this world. I was just seriously meditating a visit to Kentucky for this very purpose. I was one of your persecutors, and the thought of it has weighed heavily on my conscience. I come now to confess all and to beg an injured man's forgiveness." Dr. McPheeters, with tears in his eyes, replied: "I forgive you with all my heart, as I hope to be forgiven; but I wish all men to understand, that now, after four years for calm thought, I hold to every doctrine and principle for which I have testified in the past. My views in this respect have not undergone the slightest change."

During this visit friends were kind and physicians did their utmost, but the shaft of disease had gone down too deep, and the results were not satisfactory. When the allotted time expired Dr. McPheeters made ready to depart, "and they all wept sore," sorrowing most of all because they should see his face no more.

The pastor is now once again in his quiet home at Mulberry. The physical frame was rapidly wearing out, and a consciousness that the shadows were lengthening quickened the purpose of the laborer to work while it was day. "A little while" and he whose life has been as "a garden of spices" shall go to his place, and the "world will seem poorer." All through the autumn of 1869, and far into the winter of 1870, the pastor labored steadily on. Not until the month of February did "the grasshopper become a burden." The hand upon the dial-plate of God's ordination now pointed to the hour when the last sermon of this man should be preached. The text was Luke xii. 16–21; the subject, "The rich fool." The discourse ended, the pastor carefully folded the MSS., and, turning to Elder John Brown, said, "Here, take this; I give it to you." This preacher, neither here nor elsewhere, will ever need a manuscript more. His commission within these walls is finished. He goes forth hence to work in other fields. Here is food for solemn thought, if the wicked world would think. O, ye gentle friends, gather to-day at the couch of your pastor, for it is the last time. The young men shall bear him out presently, and he will return again only when the "silver cord is loosed and the golden bowl is broken." Five years ago he came to the people here with God's message on his lips. The words which were given him to speak have been spoken, and the angel, in the Book of God, has made the fearful entry. The past is now gone, and neither principalities nor powers can recall a single Sabbath, with opportunity to improve its once neglected privileges. O, ye listless ones, if the voice of the beloved pastor has not been heard in the sanctuary in months that have fled, ponder it solemnly now, for that slowly moving wagon yonder takes away a watchman whose warning voice shall never again be lifted in any assembly of earth.

The next few weeks were filled with anxiety. The news flew that "the Doctor" was failing rapidly. The parsonage was besieged day after day with eager inquirers. In the meanwhile Dr. Frederick, the beloved physician—endeared to the whole household by oft-repeated acts of kindness, and whose professional treatment of Dr. McPheeters had been endorsed by men of the highest scientific attainment—intermitted no effort to eradicate disease and alleviate suffering. But what can skill or science do when the voice of God and the law of nature rise and combine against it? The hour had come. The malady progresses steadily.

There were periods when Dr. McPheeters suffered greatly. The vessel was breaking in every part. No strength remained. Mrs. McPheeters says: "On Saturday night, the 6th of March, my husband began to sink rapidly, and speedy dissolution seemed to be indicated. When he saw the distress on my countenance he calmly said, and with authority, 'My wife, stay yourself on the Lord.' For several hours during that night, after this remark, he apparently fell into a half dreamy state; his pulse gone, and all hope gone that he would last till morning. During the time I aroused him, repeating those words of Jesus, 'Let not your heart be troubled.' When I came to the words, 'I will come again and receive you unto myself,' he said, 'That's true, my dear wife; but if it is God's will I will remain with you awhile longer.' Then, turning to the doctor, he said, 'A servant should be at his Master's command, willing to go if *he* bid, willing to stay if *he* bid. That's right; is it not, Doctor?' I then asked him if he would like for Dr. Hill to pray with him. He replied, 'Yes,' and meekly folded his hands. The Doctor asked if he heard him. He answered, 'Yes.' He then closed his eyes, and in a half waking condition was again among his people in St. Louis, moderating a meeting for them—calling some of them by name. Soon after this his sleep became quiet, his pulse returned, and when he awoke again, though death with its relentless grasp held, without dispute, control in his body, the *mind* which had been for so many years the light of his household was free and unclouded, and during the whole day *the finishing of his faith by the great Author of it* was grand to look upon. A friend who watched him hourly from that dark Saturday night till his eyes were closed in death said, 'I hate to *go back* again from *this room* to the world;' feeling that in that room he had stood so near the *gate* to the Celestial City and caught such glimpses of its glory that, with the great dreamer, he had almost wished himself among them there."

On Sunday morning he seemed to rally a little, and at his request was sung—

"Mercy, O thou Son of David."

He said, "How I love that old tune; and the words, how they cover me all over with glory as they dovetail in with each other.' While they sang "Rock of Ages," he expressed, by the motion and pressure of his hand, his pleasure and concurrence in the petitions. He then began to speak of all the glory and greatness of Christ as a Savior, and seemed to labor for words expressive enough of his convictions of Christ's greatness as a Savior; and, as though taking this opportunity to leave his final testimony, he said: "Now, I am in no ecstasy, nor under excitement of any kind, but calm as if I were writing a business paper; and I say Jesus Christ is just such a Savior as, intellectually, spiritually and infinitely, meets my full approbation. He is my infinite, *infinite* trust; this (raising his hand as one testifying in Court) is my testimony, living or dying."

He spoke cheerfully and tenderly to the children and young people, and in that peculiar method which marked his utterances in days of health he sênt his messages. Referring to a dearly beloved sister in North Carolina, afflicted in a somewhat similar manner as himself, he said: "Write sister Kate and tell her, from me, not to allow herself to be worried and frightened by the stories she hears of the horrors and darkness of dying; that I say there is not a word of truth in it, for I am now at the very place myself and, with Jesus here, find it a happy way. And I say this not because I am a good man, for I am not, but only a poor, miserable sinner; yet I have such a mighty Savior—mighty and glorious—with His own eternal arms around me. And He did not just begin to love me lately, but before, when yet a sinner, and *before* and BEFORE—back into eternity."

"Tell Robinson," was another message, "I want him to preach my funeral, and not to have any stuff about me in it; let it all be about Christ." When John Brown, Jr., whom he ever addressed in affectionate playfulness as "Mr. Johnny," came in, he remarked, speaking to him of the goodness of his Savior: "The only care I have had, Mr. Johnny, as I approached this hour, was leaving my wife and children, and He is so good He has taken all that away, so that I can leave them with Him. O, it is not that I am good, for I am such a sinner, but I have such a mighty Savior! Johnny, study the Bible closely and you will find what a mighty Savior He is."

When the poor colored servant came to his bedside, saying, "Master, I am sorry to see you suffer so," he said, taking her hand, "Yes, Phoebe, I am suffering, but Jesus gives me songs in the night and helps me to suffer joyfully, joyfully, and He will do just the same for you, Phoebe, if you will do just like me. When you sin, go and ask Him and He will blot it all out, and when you sin again (for you will sin), then just go again. I have been a great sinner, and sometimes felt much ashamed to have to go back so often to ask Him to blot out more sins; but He always did it. Now, remember this way of doing with sin, Phoebe, and you will be able, like me, to suffer joyfully."

On Sunday night he seemed to be sinking rapidly, and when sympathy was expressed, he whispered, "Jesus is leading me; He will lead me all right." And through the night and during the forenoon of Monday, though most of the time in dreamy half delirium, he was often heard whispering, "All is well; peace, peace." In the afternoon he said to his wife: "The doctor has told me all along that death is near, but I did not feel so till now; I am now conscious that I am going away. I wish you, dear wife, to take the children and use your best judgment. Ask Christ to help you, and I am going to ask Him, too." The arrival of his brother, Dr. W. M. McPheeters, on the evening of this day greatly comforted him.

During the early part of Tuesday he was thought to be about to die immediately, but he rallied again about noon and in the evening was able to converse in a whisper with his friend Dr. Robinson, who had just arrived. "I am so glad, Robinson," was his salutation, "that you got here before I got away. I longed to see you, but did not think I would." And, in response to the remark of his friend expressing regret at the shortening of a ministry so much blessed, as he had lately seen the evidence of it in St. Louis engraved in the life and character of many children of God, he whispered, "Yes, the Lord has kept being so good to me in that way that it humbles me in the dust that I should be such an ungrateful sinner."

Subsequently, calling Dr. Robinson to his bedside again, he said: "I have loved you with a true heart-love as one that has testified with me for Christ as the glorious King and Head in His Church; Christ as the Lord our righteousness, obeying for us, suffering the curse for us, doing all for us; and I want you to give my charge to all the brethren to hold up Christ faithfully. Tell them that, after preaching the Gospel more than twenty years and believing it to be true, now I *know* it to be true, and that He is mighty to save, as He has said He is. Now, pray again with me; then good-bye."

Shortly after this he dropped into apparent unconsciousness, and so continued generally till morning, when his friend Dr. S. R. Wilson visited him. Dr. Wilson says: "I spent the Wednesday on which he died by his bedside. When I entered his room, about nine o'clock in the morning, he said to me: 'I am glad to see you; it always gives me pleasure to see you. I am glad to have fought by your side for the truth.' I said, 'You are going to get your release from service sooner than the rest of us.' 'Yes,' he replied with emphasis. I said to him, 'You have had a hard conflict, but it is now over and you are going for your reward.' 'Yes,' he answered, 'I have fought a good fight and have kept the faith;' and then, after a short pause, added: 'After all, God is all and Christ is all.' He then turned over and appeared very much exhausted by the effort of speaking. Through the day he lay quiet, and breathing easily; knew every one that came in to see him and spoke to them, though in a faint whisper. Being under the necessity of returning to the city, about three o'clock in the afternoon the family came into the room, and I asked if I should pray with him. He signified his assent by the inclination of his head and a soft whisper. When we arose from our knees I asked him if he could hear and follow me in the prayer. He replied 'Yes.' I took his hand and said, 'Brother McPheeters, I must now leave you; good-bye. We will meet in a better country. We will meet in the New Jerusalem.' He gently inclined his head as he held my hand and said, with distinctness and emphasis, 'Amen.'"

Occasionally his whispers became articulate and reached the ear. They were "peace, peace." As he had before said to his beloved wife and brother, "Christ commands it to rain, and it does rain down peace, peace—wonderfully, powerfully." His last whisper, caught in snatches by a young friend, was "To live is Christ, to die is gain." And a little after, on this 9th day of March, 1870, Samuel Brown McPheeters fell asleep in Jesus, and another spirit joined the noble army of martyrs and confessors in the paradise of God.

The scene at Mulberry on Friday can never be forgotten. There lay the noble form of the faithful pastor chilled in death; but even on the now pallid countenance lingered an expression of solemn joy. Around this central figure crowded the favored people who had listened often to the gospel of the grace of God as it once so sweetly distilled from those lips which are mute and sealed forever. That servant of Jesus Christ was persecuted by those "who hold the truth in unrighteousness," and the Great Head of the Church put honor on the Mulberry congregation, as He did upon the widow of Zarephath, when He commanded Elijah to dwell in her house; and the people to whom this faithful witness came gained renown for themselves and their posterity, in that they lovingly received the exiled prophet and divided unto him, without stint, of "their meal and their oil." On Wednesday last, those wounds, inflicted by cruel hands, had repined into death. The spirit of the noble martyr passed into that country where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest. To-day, all hearts are stricken. A whole community assemble, as one household, to bear with gentle hands to its silent resting place the remains of one whose very dust is more precious than jewels. The writer never witnessed such a scene. From the child of tender years to the hoary head, every one was a mourner. The spectacle, too, was inspiring and grand, for heaven and earth came together, and the ground on which we trod was holy. Kings have their flatterers, conquerors their menials, but it remains for the Christian pastor to exhibit a life and a death that extracts the tribute of affection and lamentation from every good man in society, from the highest down to the very lowest.

The funeral sermon was preached by Rev. Stuart Robinson, from Hebrews xi. 4: "By it he (Abel) being dead, yet speaketh." It would not be fair to attempt even so much as an outline of this masterly discourse, which enchained the audience for more than an hour. It evidently gave strong consolation to those who were bewildered by the early decease of the gifted and influential pastor. The great truth was unfolded that the grace of God is oftentimes more magnified in the death of His saints than even in their lives, of which truth the text gives a remarkable example. For in the accepted sacrifice of Abel, and in the martyrdom which followed, the voice of salvation by grace resounded through the ages in more distinct and louder tones than would ever have issued from the living lips of Abel sacrificing till old as Methuselah. When Polycarp and such as he are bound and led to the stake, the blood that falls to the ground becomes henceforth and forever the "seed of the Church." The deeds of "God's slaughtered ones are hallowed by death, and the influence of the martyr survives when the lips which testified for Jesus are consumed by the fire. The martyr himself can not be dishonored, while every blow inflicted becomes a tongue of flame.

As a fitting close to the funeral services, the following tribute was read, which had been unanimously adopted by the Session, in view of the sad bereavement which had befallen the community, through the mysterious providence of Him whose judgments are unsearchable and His ways past finding out:

By the death of our beloved pastor, Rev. Samuel B. McPheeters, D. D., who fell asleep in Jesus, on Wednesday, March 9, 1870, the Session of Mulberry Church feel constrained to give expression, officially, to the profound sorrow of the people of his charge and their affectionate reverence for his memory, and to bear testimony to his pre-eminent worth as a pastor and teacher of the Church, his holy zeal as a martyr for the truth, his spotless purity of character as a man in every relation of life, and the effulgent brightness of his example as an humble follower of the Lord Jesus. While a profound reverence for the well known wishes of our beloved pastor, whose unaffected Christian modesty ever shrank instinctively from the praise of men, restrains us in the expression of our admiration of his genius, his nobleness, his wisdom and his exalted piety, yet a deep conviction of duty to Christ and His truth impels us, as office bearers in the Church and representatives of the desires of the people, to bear witness to the wonderful excellency and power of the grace of Christ as exhibited in the life and death of this reverend man of God. For in this time of spiritual declension within the Church, and cavil and scoff without, what more effective argument can be offered for the reality of the religion of the gospel, notwithstanding the inconsistencies and failures of so many who profess the gospel, than such a life, followed by such a death. While as a smitten flock we sit broken hearted, and the wail of sorrow is heard in every family of the congregation, as though each had lost a beloved member, we can but adore the great goodness of our Lord, that in the season of our darkest trials He should have sent us such a pastor to break to us the word of life. We desire to testify that though our pastor labored under great physical weakness during his whole ministry among us, and though for three years past he has been obliged to preach lying upon his couch instead of standing in the pulpit, yet our people have unanimously regarded themselves as among the most highly favored of Churches in respect of pastoral ministrations, and every child of God among us remembers, with hearts full of liveliest gratitude, how, under his instructions, they have grown in grace. We desire to give utterance to the universal testimony of the people, professors and non-professors alike, to the singular and varied excellencies of character which marked his intercourse with all ages, all classes and conditions. Of him the most worldly and godless have been constrained to admit "that we find no fault in this man."

In him those perplexed with the troubles of life never failed to find the wisest of human counselors. By him the soul in darkness was, with wonderful skill, led to Christ; the aged saint was comforted through his rich experience in the Christian life; while his genial, companionable spirit attracted even the thoughtless to heed his solemn counsels and warnings. Our children, won by his gentleness and unfailing cheerfulness, were sweetly led to Him who took the children in His arms and blessed them.

And that this eminence in Christian virtue was the work of Divine grace, none can doubt who heard, as we have heard, his humble confession of sinfulness by nature and by practice, and his adoring views of the grace that could save such a sinner as he. The heroic faith that enabled his soul to triumph over bodily suffering so intense and so long protracted, and the calm and patient waiting for death, saying, "for me to live is Christ, to die is gain," added to the argument of his matchless life, completes the demonstration that a Gospel which has produced such a character is not of man, but of God.

It is impossible to depict the scene or to describe the emotions of that stricken congregation when this tribute of respect adopted by the Session was read to the Church. The moans and tears that responded to every utterance, from all parts of the house, testified that these were no formal resolutions of respect, but the sincere convictions of hearts full and overflowing. Every one felt as though a member of his own family had been taken away.

When the services at Mulberry were concluded the body was borne to Shelbyville, six miles distant, and deposited temporarily in the public vault of Grove Hill Cemetery, to await its removal to the city of St. Louis, where it might sleep till the morning of the resurrection, near the very spot in which the living witness had testified so nobly to the truth.

On Monday, April 25, the writer, in charge of the precious remains, set out from Shelbyville for the city of St. Louis. By previous arrangement it was determined that, on the arrival, the last sad rites should be performed quietly and without ostentation. Accordingly, on Tuesday morning the hearse moved slowly forward to Bellefontaine Cemetery, followed by a few friends whose "eyes were dim by reason of sorrow." Through the busy crowd, heedless, rushing on, and along the winding streets once so familiar—in the very place where truth, in other days, was uttered bravely—the corse of this man went mutely to its home. Drs. Farris, Lacy, Anderson, Brank, with Rev. W. H. Parks and the writer, companions of his earthly toil, stood at the grave. The Book was opened, and there, in that city of the dead, amid its myriad sleepers, the ambassador of the living God read from St. Paul's letter to the Corinthians the sublime lesson of the resurrection. Together we sang a song of Zion, and in words of earnest prayer committed all to Him who "after a little while will come, and will not tarry."

It was a glorious April day, and the sun shone down in mild but bright effulgence. The earth in months past was sere and verdureless, and gave signs of death. But the winter is now over and gone; the tender grass sheweth itself; the fields look fair and green; the modest wild-flower blooms; the forest trees make haste to bud, while through their branches sing the little birds; and over all, in its deep cerulean beauty, hangs the cloudless sky—these "analogies of nature" pointing with emphatic finger to a resurrection morn, when they who slumber in their graves shall come forth in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump, and the corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal, immortality. On this peerless day we buried the body of Samuel Brown McPheeters upon the bank of the great Mississippi, fully assured that the testimony of this steadfast witness for the Master shall survive and be borne onward by the faithful as long as the "Father of Waters" rolls down to the sea; and confident, too, that from the tomb, when Jesus comes, few brighter forms shall ascend to meet him in the air than the worn and wasted one that has just gone down in hope to await, in earth's lowly, silent bed, that "blessed appearing of its Lord."

CHAPTER XIX.

TESTIMONIAL LETTERS OF CONDOLENCE.

As the tidings of Dr. McPheeters' death spread over the country, testimonials, both public and private, flowed in freely on the family. Dr. S. J. P. Anderson writes:

"To speak well of the dead, and to preserve a pleasant recollection of all that is commendable in their lives, is one of the most powerful, as it is also one of the most amiable, of impulses. This tendency, however, has caused eulogistic obituaries to be greatly suspected and generally considered merely formal. But there are cases where the terms of affectionate admiration, even when enthusiastic, are the spontaneous and irrepressible utterance of the bereaved and wounded heart. And it looks like a wrong to the dead and a robbery of the living to repress the utterance of the words of loving praise. And even they are very inadequate memorials of excellences that are all the grander and more dear because they are seen now by eyes bedimmed with tears. I know that it will be so in what I have to say of that great man in Israel, who has so recently entered into rest. While strangers may regard this sketch as altogether too highly wrought, those who knew him well and intimately will lay it aside as an imperfect and inadequate portraiture of one of the most truly noble men that God has given the Church of the present generation. I have known him intimately for a quarter of a century, and through the joy and sorrow, prosperity and adversity, the honor and reproach of that long time he has constantly greatened in my view as a Christian, preacher and theologian, and has gained a firmer hold of the tenderest and strongest fibers of my heart as a friend and brother. And I say now that he was one of the most faultless men in all the relations of life that I have ever known. As a companion he had few equals and no superiors. Endowed with a most exquisite wit, whose keen and polished edge was never jagged by acrimony or envy, he had also those sympathies and generous emotions that hindered any use of his remarkable powers that would inflict pain. He loved his friends too much to use them for the exhibition of his wit in any way that could rankle in the memory. These qualities made him one of the most delightful of companions, and often in intervals of study and in long days of travel have I enjoyed the unflagging interest that he could give to social intercourse. But, better than this, he was an humble, sincere and ardent Christian. Without one particle of cant, he so lived and talked that every one was profoundly impressed with his love of God and zeal for the salvation of the souls of men. In the pulpit and in private he impressed men with the conviction that the loadstone of his mind and heart was the love of Christ, and that his whole deportment was prompted and governed by the principles of the Gospel. There was a daily beauty in his life that sustained and enforced his teachings from the pulpit.

"With these qualifications he could not be otherwise than an impressive and powerful preacher. Those who heard him attentively and intelligently saw in his discourses strong thought clearly expressed, enforced by a terrible earnestness that left no room for the thought that this was a mere perfunctory performance. The flashes of his eloquence were not like summer lightning—a sort of celestial pyrotechnics, to amuse and delight—but the overflow of volcanic fire that burned in the very depths of his soul. He preached in full view of the great white throne, before which he and his hearers were soon to stand.

"He was also an able theologian. It is no disparagement to his brethren of the Synod of Missouri to say that he was the peer of the best of them—clear, acute in his discriminations, full and accurate in his judgments, and broad and comprehensive in his statements. These things being so, it would be justly concluded that he was tenderly loved as well as much admired by his congregation. Indeed, I do not know that I ever knew a pastor to whom his people clung more tenaciously. They preferred him to any one else, and adhered to him in the dark days of the strife, which cast a gloom over the midday of his usefulness, when their loving allegiance cost them something. He had a clear perception of the fact that Christ's kingdom is not of this world, and bravely maintaining his principles when greatly tempted to swerve from them, or, at least, temporize and conceal, he gave them a clear, clarion-like utterance that no one was so stupid as to misunderstand, and bore the silencing of his voice in the pulpit and banishment from his field of labor rather than retract or qualify. And yet he endured persecution without murmuring and without resentment. Even the treachery of false brethren did not arouse him to harsh or railing accusations. He had enough of the Master's spirit to pray, 'Father, forgive them, they know not what they do.' He passed through the furnace kindled by human hands without the smell of fire on his garments. And though these cruel persecutions stopped his mouth and broke his health, so as to hasten the day of mourning that is on us now, he was ever cheerful and happy. The sunshine of an approving conscience and the presence of that Savior for whom he suffered was his unfailing support. But his faith sustained a fiercer trial. It was hard to bear the stroke inflicted by the hand of former friendship, but harder still to submit when his Father on high pointed him to another furnace of heat and bid him enter it.

Painful, prostrating and protracted sickness did not dim his cheerful faith. Those who approached his chamber of pain, trembling with sympathy, went away thanking God for such grace to his servant and ashamed of their own petty grief. His death was as illustrious as his life. We thank God for both.

"But this brief record would be unpardonably incomplete without mention of the circumstances of his last sickness, which so affectingly exhibit his love of ministerial work and his zeal for souls. When confined to his room and prostrate on his couch he invited the young people of his charge to gather around him in a Bible class, and thus on his back he taught them out of the Scriptures and tenderly exhorted them to remember their Creator in the days of their youth—counsels which, enforced as they were by the affecting circumstances that surrounded him, were greatly blessed in drawing them to Christ. And when the great interest of these services drew so many as to overcrowd his chamber and the avenues to it, he requested to be carried to his church, and there from his couch preached Christ to the people of his charge. And thus for three years he spoke from the borders of the tomb, 'as a dying man to dying men,' the things which make for our peace. Such devotion to his work has been seldom paralleled. It may well be written in the same chapter that speaks of Bunyan's preaching from his prison.

"We take leave of this dear brother with an almost envious admiration of the honor put on him and of the rest that he has attained, and say, 'Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly.'"

Dr. J. R. Wilson observes: "In all the elements of a true manhood brother McPheeters has had few equals. His intellect was of the finest order, or rather, was large enough to have room in its love for his bitterest and most relentless enemies;

and I never knew any man with a conscience more clear in its perceptions, or who listened with more childlike obedience to the voice of that divine mentor.

"It was a dark day for the Presbyterian Church when she permitted the strong hand of the persecutor to be laid upon this faithful man of God. And it was a still darker day when she herself, in suicidal madness, 'cast him out of the Church' and branded him as a 'rebel,' a 'slanderer,' and 'a schismatic.' *That record* is upon earth, and HIS RECORD is on high. The day is not distant when these two records shall be laid side by side, before the Judge of quick and dead, who is no respecter of persons or of majorities. Perhaps before that day those who did that deed of wanton and cruel wrong may repent of their deed and be forgiven. That it may be so none will pray more earnestly than he who loved with a brother's love the victim of that wrong. But no ordinary repentance can suffice for such a deed. It is, I think, the remark of Principal Cunningham, 'that a hundred years of repentance would scarce suffice to wipe out from the page of Scottish Church history the guilt and shame of the casting out of the Erskines from that Church.' Will twice a hundred years of repentance efface from the records of the Presbyterian Church the foul blot with which they are stained by the exclusion from her pale of that truest and noblest of her sons—SAMUEL. B. MCPHEETERS?"

Hon. F. P. Blair remarks: "My acquaintance with our lamented friend was formed when we were school boys at Chapel Hill College, in North Carolina, where we were classmates and room-mates. He had a charm of manner and a sweetness of expression which won the hearts of all who approached him; but to the outward graces were added the sterling qualities of head and heart which formed the solid foundations, distinguished for vigorous intellect, purity and devotion to principle, and which commanded the respect and admiration of all who were associated with him through life.

"I knew him in after life, when, as a minister of the gospel, he sought to comfort and strengthen his fellow men with his own pure faith. The bright and cheerful spirit of his youth had given place to a more matured and thoughtful, but not less pleasing and delightful temper. And even in those days of conflict, when individuals, who were bound together by ties of affection and kindred, were torn asunder by the convulsion which shook a nation, there was something in his gentle nature that saved him from that bitterness by which so many of us were stirred.

"When his labors and disease, which had so long lurked in his system, had almost completed their work, and he approached the confines of life, it seemed to me, as I last saw his broken and prostrate form, that his fortitude and cheerful resignation had given him the power to overcome not only the pains which afflict the body, but to dispel the dark shadows of the impenetrable future, whose gloom gives a sharper pang than the tortures of the body.

"It has never been my fortune to know a better or purer man, or one more upright and conscientious in the discharge of the duties of the most difficult and highest calling among men, and I feel it presumptuous in me, even at the request of friends, to attempt the delineation of a character which excites my highest admiration, but which I have shown so little capacity to imitate."

Rev. A. J. Witherspoon says: "I was chaplain of the 21st Alabama volunteer regiment, and was taken prisoner in the battle of Shiloh, Tennessee, April 7, 1862. I was confined in the McDowell College Prison, St. Louis, Mo. I was sick, near unto death, and reduced to a shadow; had not even a change of raiment, and had worn the same clothes for three weeks; had no current money, and was too feeble to do anything for myself. In that forlorn condition a gentleman of the gentlest and kindest manners came to me in prison. He said his name was McPheeters, Presbyterian minister, of St. Louis. He inquired if it were possible that I was a minister of the gospel in that situation. He said, 'My brother, you need aid.' And he gave it. The man seemed so overcome that he offered me his entire purse. I declined this, but received a small sum that would pay for my washing. He insisted that I should take more. I declined. He wept and I wept. He said that he was allowed but a few moments to stay; that it was with great difficulty that he got admittance at all. Dr. McPheeters left, and I never saw him afterward, but I never lacked again for clothing, nourishment, medicine or money during the four months of imprisonment that remained. When I saw the announcement of his death I mourned over the loss of such a man at such a time when good and honest men are so much needed."

Mr. L. Y. Button, a man of the world, of excellent sense, but remarkable for the asperity of his judgment in regard to mankind in general, said to the writer: "I can see faults in Mr. A. and in Dr. B. I thought I could detect faults in any body, but I lived here five years in sight of Dr. McPheeters and I watched him closely. I heard him talk; he always talked right. I saw what he did; he always did right. Sir, that man stumped me, for I could find no fault at all in him."

Dr Plumer says: "I knew S. B. McPheeters when a little boy. I have loved him for more than forty years. My estimate of his character has always been high. I have never known a more manly, sincere, upright or lovely person. I only regret that I have been so little with him."

Letters of sympathy and consolation were also received. Dr. S. R. Wilson, on March 10th, wrote to Mrs. McPheeters, saying: "You asked me to remember you and write you a word for comfort and strength. I promised to do so. But now, what shall I say? The stroke so long anticipated has come at last. Yet it is sore and heavy. Looking for it to fall does not much lighten the blow. It has staggered you—how the head reels and the heart faints! How obscure the promises once so plain, and seemingly easy to understand and apply—how obscure they have all at once become. Indeed, you, perhaps, can hardly see them through the mist sorrow has shed over your eyes. This is not strange. Now no chastening for the present seemeth to be joyous, but *grievous*. To be a true and loving child of a reconciled God is not to be a stoic. It is to have a tender heart like that of Jesus, a heart whose overflowings must find a way or it would break. Jesus wept. So may we. 'Behold how He loved him." You loved—oh! how much you alone can understand—you loved your noble, generous, good husband. With your wifely joy a stranger could not intermeddle; how then can a stranger know the bitterness of your heart from which that joy is torn! But let the sweetness of its remembrance take away the pungency of its loss. Did he not teach you, by his own example, how to rejoice in tribulation; how to praise God in the fire as well as in the green pastures; how to walk by faith and not by sight? To have been the wife of such a man of God—his companion, his help—so long; to have enjoyed for so many years the communion of such a spirit—is not this an honor, a privilege, to call for gratitude? And when you must needs part for a little while, to see him going away so smilingly. Not because he loved you less—oh! no, but because he loved his blessed Master more; because orders had come from the King and he was wanted at court. You will not repine, I know. You can not but miss him, so much! And tears must flow. Many days and nights you will sit alone and weep. But the sun will shine through the rifted clouds again, more bright than ever, and the dew drops will become diamonds in his beams, and the rainbow will span the heavens, and faith's eye will look up into the blue azure in the far off firmament, and will see the way worn servant of God resting from his labors upon the bosom of his Redeemer. And then you will see how good for him, and for you as well, has been this parting for awhile. I am sure that if not in this brief life, yet on the other side of the river, you will praise HIM for this who doeth all things in love to His own. But try and begin His praise even now. Say, 'Blessed be the name of the Lord.' He comes to you in the darkness and you may hear His kind voice saying, 'It is I, be not afraid.'

"'Had He asked us, well we know
We should cry, "Oh! spare the blow!
Yes, with streaming tears should pray,
Lord, we love him, let him stay."

"'But the Lord doth naught amiss,
And since He hath ordered this,
We have naught to do but still
Rest in silence on His will.'

"And that is a firm resting place—a place of safety and repose.

"But I shall weary you with words—not comfort your aching heart. Accept the desire to minister to your great grief, and excuse the poor solace I have been able to give. Nothing but necessity keeps me from coming up to follow the precious dust of my much loved friend and brother in Jesus to the grave. The labors of a communion season forbid. But I will think of you and your dear children to-morrow and weep with you in spirit, though not permitted to be present in body. May Jesus strengthen you in that hour. If I can do any thing for you or your family, do me the favor to command my services. Tell the boys to emulate the high, noble, Christian example of their father.

"Commending you all to the Shepherd of Israel and that Father who careth for you, I remain most sincerely your friend in Jesus."

Rev. D. W. Shanks, of Falling Spring, Virginia, writes: "It is unnecessary, my dear, afflicted sister, to say to you that I deeply sympathize with you in a loss which this world can never repair. However much of comfort you may have in the life and death of your dear husband, you have sustained, without question, a great (I had almost said an irreparable) loss; but, blessed be God, it is not irreparable, for earth hath no sorrow which heaven can not heal. His grave may—yea, doubtless will—cast a shadow over the rest of your days; but that shadow shall flee away before the light of heaven, and your loss will be eternally repaired in the blessed reunion of that place where there is no more going out or partings. You sorrow not, my dear sister, as those who have no hope. Certainly, if we can ever say of a departed friend that he is this day in glory, the life of your dear husband warrants us to speak thus of him. There are few such Christians. Such gentleness, kindness, charity, love, modesty and humility have rarely graced the character of any one. I believe I have never known so many lovely and attractive qualities united in one character as that of your husband. He was universally esteemed, universally loved. Other persons interest us, but he was not simply agreeable, but won at once the hearts of all who knew him. I can not see how such a man could have an enemy. He was so gentle, sincere, guileless and unpretentious that even the most envious could but rejoice in his success. If he was the fountain of joy in the social circle—as he always was—no one felt overshadowed, but all went away charmed with his simplicity and company. As a preacher he had a single eye. I suppose no one ever suspected any other motive in his preaching than the glory of his Master. He ceased not to teach and to preach Christ crucified. When he ascended the pulpit, the great constraining power in him was the love of Christ; his personality was lost in his official character as ambassador for Christ.

"I might say much more about him, but if he were living he probably would not like what I have already said. But as I loved him I could not help saying, in part, *why* I and all loved him. My dear sister, you have lost a treasure and the Church of Christ a jewel; but, blessed be God, your treasure is now laid up in heaven and the Church's jewel is now a sparkling gem in the diadem of her King. It was His will that he should leave us and be with Him that he might behold His glory. Jesus made him lovely while on earth; what He gave He has taken away, that he may shine as the brightness of the firmament and the stars forever and ever. And we should remember that in such affections there is a compensation. What we lose others gain, as the setting sun, while it darkens one part of our globe goes to gladden another. If he has left us, he is now an accession to heaven; if he has ceased to preach Christ here, he is still crying, 'Unto Him that loved me and washed me from my sins in His own blood, unto Him be honor and dominion and praise.' Happy life, happy death, happy eternity."

From Mrs. D. Ridgeley, formerly a member of the Pine Street flock, there came the following gentle words:

"I have hesitated, my dear friend, about intruding upon your sorrows, but can no longer resist the desire to offer to you my most heartfelt sympathies. I sincerely mourn my beloved pastor, who filled in an eminent degree that relation to me. I can never forget our last interview when he came as comforter, after God had taken my little daughter to Himself. How much I thought of him and missed his sympathy in my recent trial I can not tell, when my first born darling left me! I feel that my religious relations with the Pine Street Church, under your dear husband's care, was the most pleasant and profitable I have ever enjoyed.

"That God will be with you and yours I can not doubt; that He will sustain and comfort you, is my earnest prayer."

Rev. Dr. R. P. Farris says: "I can not write, but I can weep and rejoice with you. You do not need to be told that I loved your husband, yes, with the sincerest, fondest, most unreserved affection. I knew that he was suffering here, I knew that a mansion was ready for him in the 'Father's House,' but still I have been so selfish as to wish to keep him with us. And now that he has gone home, it is as when my own precious ones have been called away from my fireside. Please accept my sympathy and that of my household for yourself and the children. We know that the confidence with which your husband committed you and them to the covenant keeping Saviour shall be rewarded with great blessing to you all."

Rev. James H. Brookes, D. D., offered his tribute of affection and condolence:

"It will relieve my own heart to write, for thoughts of your dear, noble husband are continually engaging my mind. Sometimes in the solitude of my study, and sometimes when walking in the streets, and sometimes while I lie awake at night, and sometimes in the midst and pressure of work, he engages my mind, and I almost fancy that he is near me. Ever since I heard of his death—no, not death, but of his falling asleep in Jesus—the world has seemed much poorer and meaner than it was, and heaven much nearer and sweeter. O, what a loss his removal has been to the redeemed on earth and what a gain it has been to the company beyond! I shall not see his like again this side of the grave, and his departure makes me turn with a quick bound of the heart to cry 'Even so, come Lord Jesus.'

"In the last letter I received from him he spoke of the coming of Christ as his hope and his joy, and that same hope and joy can animate your faith and soothe your grief in this hour of your affliction, my sister. Your husband is in heaven, and you, too, are there as God views you, seated with our dear Lord in the heavenly places, and therefore you are not far separated from each other. Mark! the Bible, blessed book, says, 'God, who is rich in mercy, for His great love wherewith He loved us, even when we we were dead in sins, *hath* quickened us together with Christ (by grace ye are saved) and *hath* raised us up together and made us sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus.' All this God *has* done—it is our present standing, our peace and portion in Christ even in this world; and if so, how near you and your husband still are to one another. He is in heaven personally, and you are there in Christ. He is a member of the body of Christ, who is the living Head, and so are you, with just this thin decaying film of flesh between you and him. He is past the place of condemnation and judgment and death, and so are you, on the heavenward side of the Cross, waiting to depart and be with Christ, which is far better, or rather, waiting *for* Christ who will come again and receive you to Himself, that where He is you may be also.

At His coming, which may take place before I finish this letter, you and your husband will be together again. Think of that! The Bible says, when our Lord shall descend from heaven with a shout—and that is before any millennium can possibly occur—'the dead in Christ shall rise first, then we which are alive and remain shall be *caught up together with* them in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air, and so we shall ever be with the Lord; wherefore comfort one another with these words.' Yes, my dear sister, let me comfort you with these words, for they are precious words and true words, every one of them. If Jesus were here this is the way he would comfort you. He would not chide your tears, He would not rebuke your grief, but He would tell you, while weeping in sympathy with your sorrow, of all that your beloved one now enjoys and of all that you will enjoy soon in His blessed presence."

"'Oh! he's reached the sunny shore,
Over there!
He will never suffer more,
All his pain and grief are o'er
Over there!
Oh! the streets are shining gold,
Over there!
And the glory is untold;
'Tis our shepherd's peaceful fold,
Over there!
Oh! he feels no chilling blast
Over there!
For his winter time is past
And the summers always last,
Over there!
Oh! he's done the weary fight,
Over there!
Jesus saved him by His might,
And he walks with Him in white,
Over there!

Oh! he needs no lamp at night
Over there!
For the day is always bright
And the Saviour is his light,
Over there!
Oh! he never sheds a tear,
Over there!
For the Lord Himself is near,
And to Him he's ever dear,
Over there!'

"May the Lord increase your faith and give you songs in the night, and cause you to follow the dear pilgrim 'over there,' leading your children by the hand, so that you may stand together again, clothed in white, when the sound of the trump shall awake the slumberers in the grave."

CHAPTER XX.

THE AUTHOR'S ESTIMATE.

Singular enough, the world, sinful as it is, has ever entertained a kind of admiration for true excellence. It admires while it accuses, persecutes and seeks to destroy. No people, however rude or uncultured have been destitute of a hero emblazoned on their national escutcheon. This sentiment finds its source in a yearning that is as instinctive as it is universal. For mankind in all countries admit, tacitly at least, that nature and society have lost their original mould. Man is now not what he once was. The vessel, somehow or other, has been "marred in the hands of the potter," while the creature, turn whither he may, groans under burdens of iniquity, suffering and death, from which the wisdom of this world offers no adequate escape. Every invention of the race leaves a gloomy vacuum in the soul, and the same futile effort is repeated from generation to generation, to draw water from wells which are empty and from cisterns that are dry. The stern realities of ordinary experience, sooner or later, become irksome and sad. The identical scenes from month to month and year to year ever recurring, varied by disappointment and sorrow, only deepen perplexity and augment dissatisfaction. The testimony of Solomon finds an echo in every unregenerated heart—"Vanity of vanities, all is vanity."

Wearied, therefore, with the familiar and deceptious routine of earth, it is natural enough that the mind should look out elsewhere for prospects more enticing. What it can not accomplish in the real it eagerly determines to encompass in the ideal. It resolves to close the eye on scenes esteemed gross and unexciting, and with melancholy temerity ventures to create a world of its own. It is to this universal craving that fiction, whether in prose or in verse, so sedulously panders. For the occupation of the novelist would depart did there not exist in the very constitution of man's nature an insatiable longing after wonderful things. Hence, of "making many books there is no end." The gorgeous creations of genius are fascinating, because the reader for a moment banishes the common place. Fiction orders the situation, leaves out the monotonous, creates difficulties, introduces mystery, and in the sequel the whole plot terminates in a way adapted most exactly to the morbid taste of the reader. Nevertheless, these characters of romance are without a parallel among the sons and daughters of men as they move to and fro in the daily avocations of life. Nor could any hero of fiction, even if his existence were substantiated, find a suitable arena in this fallen world on which to exist and successfully labor. Such a "creation" is only possible upon the pages of fancy. The eye never saw it clothed upon with mortality, and never will. Men may chase the phantom, but it leads at last into a wilderness of despair.

But, after all, these aspirations are prophetic and indicate the possibility of a higher state of existence "than the life that now is" for the toiling and wearied spirit. And, blessed be God, that inborn desire has been gloriously answered, for the matchless character which imagination strives in vain to portray is gloriously unfolded "in God manifest in the flesh." The instinct is normal and legitimate, but while the model of the New Testament enforces admiration in the vilest of men, yet the pattern exhibited there is so immaculately pure that the sight, to an eye which is evil, produces quaking and fear, for to transgressors of any degree it is a standing rebuke. Here is a person whose thirty-three years of veritable work shall certainly outlive all the portraitures of romance.

Nor did the Great Exemplar quit the world without a voucher when He Himself ascended up far above all heavens that He might fill all things. He committed His doctrine and and imparted His spirit to a company of witnesses who, with their successors to the end of time, were to be "living epistles known and read of all men." Earthen vessels were selected, and these so set apart and sanctified that the believer is bound ever to say, "For me to live is Christ." And as the Master Himself appealed to His own works, and declared that these bore witness of Him, so He gave it in charge to His disciples that the same rule of judgment must be applied to every professed follower. "Ye are my friends if ye do whatsoever I command you." Christ, therefore, is to repeat, in a manner, His own living testimony in the life and example of every faithful disciple.

At the present moment, when the pages of fiction overrun the land, and when characters the most distorted, not to say pernicious, are exhibited for imitation, is it not well to recall, if possible, the mind even of a few from the vain and delusive representations of fancy and to fix it upon a model whose virtues were real and whose graces are inimitable? If the great heart of humanity pines for a type of excellence, such as the world can not furnish in its corrupted generations, why should it not be pointed first to that "Divine pattern showed to us in the Mount," and after and through Him to the cloud of witnesses who confirm from age to age, by godliness and holy conversation, the great salvation which "at the first begun to be spoken by the Lord?" It matters not how fallen and degraded is every child of Adam by nature; this melancholy and undeniable fact only illustrates more clearly and effectually the gracious and superhuman power of Jesus, when He sends forth from these empty cisterns the pure and sweet waters of life.

How far, therefore, Christ reveals Himself to the Church and the world in the life of this man or that; to what extent grace triumphs over the law that is in our members; by what authority and with what boldness a helpless mortal may trust a covenant-making God—it is in this light alone that Christian biography can become intelligent or edifying.

In the task, therefore, which lay before him the writer felt encouraged, because the character which he sought to portray was not a worthy of the olden time, much of whose authentic inner and outer life the dust of ages obscured and made doubtful; but a witness for the truth, whose course is just finished and whose race for the goal "was seen of above five hundred brethren at once, of whom the greater part remain unto this present."

And as all who reverence genuine worth are interested in a true hero down to his very bodily presence, an effort in the instance before us shall be made to gratify measurably this not unnatural curiosity.

In person Dr. McPheeters was fully up to the medium hight, but very spare, and at no period of his life remarkable for physical vigor. With a forehead broad and well developed; an eye, in respose soft and dreamy, but under excitement flashing and brilliant, reflecting from its clear blue depths perfect sincerity—rapid and varied in expression, at one time indicating righteous indignation, at another laughing with humor, while again the fast falling tear pointed to inward tenderness and emotion; with a mouth prevalent in meaning and correspondent to the eye: these two organs mirroring the thoughts of the soul when the mind was either enlivened by joy or dispirited by sorrow, whether battling with error or rejoicing in the truth, conversing on high themes or unbending with play. The countenance of McPheeters was notable and possessed a magnetism not easily described, but of which every one felt conscious who ever beheld him in the pulpit or sat by his side in the charmed circle of home. What friend ever forgot the warmth of his greeting: "Why, sir, I am glad to see you?" And then, throwing out his arm with a quick, hearty motion, and grasping the hand, he would repeat, with emphasis, "I am *very* glad to see you."*

In the life and character of Dr. McPheeters there was presented as perfect a specimen of well ordered natural endowments, sanctified and ennobled by grace, as we can ever expect to behold in this sin-stricken world. Other men of his generation surpassed him in genius, in learning, in eloquence, but in this man every faculty so harmonized that when a work had to be done there were never any delinquent or refractory forces. He was endowed with a wisdom that delivered him, consistently, from hasty, foolish and ill-tempered things. With a judgment pre-eminently sound, it was safe at all times to trust him as a counselor. Indeed, his intellect was so constituted that had he chosen the legal profession the highest judicial positions would have awaited him, and he could have won lasting renown for the clearness and rectitude of his decisions. His impartiality was wonderful. No amount of personal injury could blind his mind to the truth. But in all instances, and on the very rack of exile and abuse, he weighed with deliberate scrutiny the arguments of opponents. He guarded with vigilance the avenues to prejudice, and changing situations with an adversary, until a stranger almost suspected him of complicity, he turned over and over in his own mind every plausible objection. He was never so exacting as when dealing with himself.

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* The steel-plate was presented by Pine Street and Mulberry congregations.

The piety of Dr. McPheeters was cast in the loftiest mould, and yet there never appeared in its composition a shadow of fanaticism. The atmosphere in which this man of God existed was not only inspiriting, but pre-eminently healthgiving, and in the lineaments of his spiritual frame there could be found not a trace of the morbid. He was "cordial, cheerful, energetic, self-forgetful, devout, fearful toward God, fearless toward man, firm for the truth and the right, yet charitable and deferential toward others, doing and suffering all for Jesus' sake—the noblest and sweetest of all motives." His soul, to its innermost depths, delighted in friendships, in fireside discussions, and his discourse was interspersed with corruscations of wit and the outpourings of good nature. No man of our day surpassed him in capacity for rich, refined and racy humour. In the bosom of friends he abounded in anecdote, but no temptation, persuasion or flattery could induce him to so far violate decorum as to adorn a single story with an expression that even savored of coarseness or vulgar profanity. His humor, too, was invariably so chaste and good natured that the tenderest sensibilities were never interrupted, while he could always turn from it in a moment without violence to the solemnest subjects.

The manner of Dr. McPheeters was so dignified and pure that vulgar familiarity never dared to approach, whilst in his intercourse with the poorest and most ignorant the eye of detraction itself could not detect a shadow of assumption. Airs and affectation were irreconcilably opposed to the inherent simplicity of his unequivocal nature. No man of any generation ever stood more squarely on his merits. He even chafed at a compliment which was felt to be undeserved. And if it may be said of a single individual that lives, that he abhors pretense and detests hypocrisy, the same specification, without abridgment, can be predicated of McPheeters. In all that concerned another, his soul, like some transparent lake, revealed its secrets down to the very bottom. Not only did he hold to the truth in the ordinary sense, but his refined and independent spirit loathed indirection. To know him intimately, day after day, in business cares and home, only made the verdict more certain: "Here is an Israelite indeed in whom there is no guile." There was something so self-forgetful in all that he did that the heart of the most callous could not fail to be impressed. Others might delight in revenge, and exact to the uttermost farthing payment from a debtor, but it was the joy of McPheeters "to seek peace and pursue it." Malignity could not wound him so deeply that he did not forgive, without reservation, the moment it was ascertained that his enemy had repented. Under no pressure from without of vexation and wrong did he ever yield to bitterness or indulge in recrimination. She who shared without stint his confidence and love declared to the writer that throughout the four years of outrage and persecution, never, even in the sanctity of home, did her noble hearted husband utter a word that (had it been repeated without) could have compromised him with the world. But under every trial of body and perplexity of mind his patience and calm were truly majestic. Nor did this proceed from indifference or timidity, for the subject of this memoir possessed the boldness of a martyr, while his sympathy and tenderness were only equaled by his courage. His bright, beaming eye never quailed before a mortal, and, on the other hand, the sight of wretchedness and suffering moved him quickly to tears.

Dr. McPheeters possessed a temperament so equably poised that there were never any ebullitions of ecstacy or manifestations of gloom. But his friends found him hopeful and calm, even in seasons when most men would have murmured or despaired. He rarely alluded to his great physical sufferings, unless questioned by a friend, and even then the response was always brief and usually very cheerful. Like all truly great souls, he soon wearied with conversation about self, and his genial and disinterested spirit eagerly turned to subjects more engaging. This suffering man was a magnificent study for complainers of every description; and if all invalids exhibited the same attractions, the world could well afford to value its sick among the excellent gifts of God.

In every condition and relation of life our departed friend acknowledged adoringly the sovereignty of God. Whilst others brooded over misfortune, mischief and oppression, this man looked to the law in his own members and bravely fought against that. Every thing about him betokened a sojourner, and the pilgrim, staff in hand, waited only for the morning.

As a preacher, Dr. McPheeters, in common acceptation, would not be called eloquent. And yet the people always heard him gladly. His apt illustrations and intense common sense arrested attention from the start, and the preacher, rapt in the fervor of his earnestness, spake as one who came directly from the presence of God, while the message which he bore was fragrant with the incense that burns in the Holy Place. The congregation were held by authority, and "he who came to scoff remained to pray." Dr. McPheeters was faithful and conscientious in rebuke, but this was always administered wisely and in a spirit so excellent that the vilest transgressor could have no reasonable ground of offense.

There were those who over-matched him in abstract argument, but his intuitions were profound and seldom missed. Indeed, his moral organization was so healthful and delicate that it shrank back instinctively from the very approaches of error.

It only needed for a question to be candidly propounded and the mind of McPheeters seized upon the right. What was developed to other men by the process of argumentation he grasped in a moment, through the fine perceptions of his understanding. His judgments were seldom at fault.

His sermons were not modeled upon the rigid rules of the school, but he was impelled onward irresistibly by the logic of the Cross. The love of Christ constrained, and transported by this thought the pastor, in words of wonderful sweetness, entreated the flock. Every discourse was carefully prepared, but he always left margin for "the wind that bloweth where it listeth." And as he mused, the fire burned, and his enraptured soul enlarging at the prospect, his countenance glowing with light, the truth as it is in Jesus poured forth from the lips of this ambassador for Christ with sublime command and irresistible pathos. The secret of McPheeters' effectiveness was not in his genius, not in his learning, not in any art practiced by the orator, but "the expulsive power of a great affection" thoroughly mastered his spirit, and as his own loving eye looked upon Jesus he could not but exclaim, in holy admiration and with fervid emotion, "Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world."

The explanation of Dr. McPheeters' power, in the pulpit and out of it, is to be found in the fact that he held to, and loved with his whole heart, the doctrines of grace. Theology, with him was not simply a scientific system, but a vital and heavenly reality. There existed no lurking doubt in his mind as to the genuineness and authenticity of the Gospel, but he believed, with perfect sincerity, that "all Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be thoroughly furnished." Hence the written Word was always examined reverently, and a "Thus saith the Lord" put an end to all controversy. He rejected indignantly that canon of interpretation which handles with latitude and license the oracles of God, and accepted joyfully the Gospel of Christ as an authoritative revelation—that Word of God which effectually worketh in them that believe. For this cause its doctrines and promises were the unfailing source of steadfast hope and rich consolation. No man, however, could be freer from Pharisaical conceit, for in his view the sinner has no ground of justification in himself, but altogether in another. The doing, in order to life, has all been done, and man needs only to receive, "without money and without price," the provided atonement. The Redemption that is in Christ Jesus is perfect and complete. No necessity of the chosen race was overlooked in the original scheme. And "when the fullness of the time was come, God sent forth His Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law that we might receive the adoption of sons." No part of the plan was devised by the creature, nor in the execution of redemption can the sinner even so much as think a good thought. "Herein is love; not that we loved God, but that He loved us and hath set forth His Son to be a propitiation for our sins." "Jesus Christ gave Himself for us, that He might redeem us from all iniquity and purify unto Himself a peculiar people zealous of good works." The salvation of the redeemed, therefore, is neither of human merit, nor of accident, nor a Divine after-thought, but

"Grace first contrived the way
To save rebellious man,
And all the steps that grace display
Which drew the wondrous plan."

To use the very words of the dying McPheeters: "I am only a poor, miserable sinner, yet I have such a mighty Savior—mighty and glorious—with His own eternal arms around me.

And He did not just begin to love me lately, but before, when yet a sinner, and *before*, and BEFORE—back into eternity." The law, that inexorable claimant, demands payment to the uttermost farthing, but this debt, acknowledged by the believer's substitute, without quibbling or dispute, was fully undertaken and satisfactorily settled. Not an item was overlooked. "For God sent His own Son, in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin condemned sin in the flesh that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us who walk not after the flesh but after the Spirit." And now, while justice prevails, since the ransom price is paid, the prisoner must go free, and henceforth there can be no condemnation to them who are in Christ Jesus. The redeemed captive is ever after the property of another. The sinner has no righteousness now—he never had any in the past. He never sought God of himself, and had no desire to retain God in his knowledge. "But God commendeth His love toward us, in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us, much more then being now justified by His blood we shall be saved from wrath through Him; for if, when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of His Son, much more being reconciled, we shall be saved by His life." The safety of the believer does not and can not depend on himself. He is a "purchased possession." If any lamb of the fold strays and perishes, reproach falls inevitably upon the shepherd—upon him who *began* to build and was not able to finish; for

"His honor is engaged to save
The meanest of His sheep."

It was a profound heart-belief of these scriptural truths which enabled Dr. McPheeters to walk calmly, yea, joyfully, amid the fires. He did not regard salvation as future, but faith, even "in this country far from home," substantiated the invisible. He that believeth in the Son HATH everlasting life and shall not come into condemnation, but IS PASSED from death unto life. The Church of God is one, and Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day and forever, is its Head of whom the *whole* family in heaven and earth is named. No child of God has to wait. His citizenship is already in heaven, and from the first moment of his conversion, onward forever, he is blessed with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Christ. The gifts and calling of God are without repentance. Hereafter the rod of correction may be applied by the hand of a compassionate Father, but the vengeance of God is turned away from His redeemed people forever. It was a patient appreciation of the wonderful truth, that "all things work together for good to them that love God, to them who are the called according to His purpose, that softened the pillow of the suffering McPheeters and enabled him to rejoice in tribulation, "looking for that blessed hope and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ."

Dr. Wilson says: "The last night I spent with him, when in his usual health, was in the month of November last. I had preached in the morning from Rev. xxi, 1-4. Our conversation turned upon the themes of the sermon—the New Heaven and the New Earth—the New Jerusalem; the personal dwelling of Jesus therein with His ransomed people. We sat together till midnight talking of these glorious things spoken of Zion. Nor shall I ever forget the glowing countenance and fervid words which he spoke of the New Jerusalem. It was just an echo of the sweet notes of Bernard:

"'For thee, O dear, dear country,
Mine eyes their vigils keep,
For very love beholding
Thy happy name, they weep;
The mention of thy glory
Is unction to the breast,
And medicine in sickness,
And love, and life, and rest.'

"And this loving hope lit up his soul in the very last moment of his life."

Thus suffering and enduring, laboring and rejoicing, the watchman stood at his post "till the day broke and the shadows fled away."